

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

EXAMINING INFLUENCES IMPACTING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN MEDIA NORMS:
EFFECTS ON PROFESSIONALIZATION OF JOURNALISM

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

EMMANUEL-LUGARD NDUKA

Norman, Oklahoma

2020

EXAMINING INFLUENCES IMPACTING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN MEDIA NORMS:
EFFECTS ON PROFESSIONALIZATION OF JOURNALISM

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. David Craig, Co-Chair

Dr. Peter Gade, Co-Chair

Dr. Meta G. Carstarphen

Dr. Fred Beard

Dr. Edward Sankowski

ABSTRACT

The study demonstrates the presence of the various influences in the Sub-Saharan African media, and how these influences impact the professional development of Sub-Saharan African journalism. To account for the presence of the influences from the West, China and Africa, 44 codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African countries were analyzed. To account for the influences of these values in the normative practice of Sub-Saharan African journalism, 18 journalists were interviewed. This research work provides systematic analysis of journalism codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African media, as well as, voices of journalists that reveals *mélange* of influences from Western, Chinese and African values within the region and their impact on the media norms. The findings contradict the basic philosophical assumption of normative media theory that the press system is shaped by the social, cultural, economic and political realities of the environment it operates, as it demonstrates the predominance of Western normative values in the Sub-Saharan Africa media as the normative values and seldom African. The implication of this finding is that the professional development of the Sub-Saharan African journalism is contingent on the formation of a normative framework that takes cognizance of the social, cultural, economic and political realities of the African continent. The paper also demonstrates the baseline for understanding Chinese efforts in Sub-Saharan African media.

Keywords: Colonialism, neo-colonialism, soft power, assimilation, diffusion, institution, profession, values, norms, normative influences, professionalization, and communitarianism.

DEDICATION

To my late father, Henry Nwanna Nduka who instilled in me the desire for learning and made me to understand that nothing should be desired except the best and the most noble in life.

To my mom, Cyrina Adaku Nduka, who taught me the ethic of hard work and made me to believe in myself. Mom, the life lessons you taught me have never been in vain and I am what I am today because of you!

To my brothers Francis-Ghandi, Kyrian, Anselm, Chamberlain and Kennedy, and to my sisters Zita and Martina, to my nephews and nieces, your love and encouragement saw me through in my academic pursuit.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The physicist Isaac Newton once said that “If I have seen further than others, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants.” And I make bold to say that same applies to my academic pursuit. First, to the Immutable and Eternal God I give all the glory for the success of this academic endeavor and for all his blessings in my life.

The realization of this work would not have been possible without the guide rails of the members of my committee. For this, I am eternally indebted to you all for the friendship we have shared and continue to share. To Dr. David Craig and Dr. Peter Gade, the co-chairs of my dissertation committee, I am particularly indebted for the humane manner you guided me to the end of this project. Your critique of my ideas and your insightful suggestions gave this work a better shape. I say thank you. To Dr. Meta Carstarphen, whom I regard as my Mother figure here at University of Oklahoma (OU), your interest in African values and your brilliant insight helped to make the ideas of my work clearer. Dr. Edward Sankowski, your acceptance to be involved in my work and the philosophical insight you brought to bear on my work helped to develop my ideas better. And to Dr. Fred Beard, ever since I took a Quantitative method class under you, I knew that your brilliance and your expertise in research method would be an invaluable contribution to my work and you did. I say thank you all. I am also grateful to the academic community of Oklahoma University for the good atmosphere for learning I enjoyed during my study period.

I am grateful to my Archbishop, Anthony J. V. Obinna, who providentially led me into the field of Mass Communication and Journalism by posting me to work at the Assumpta Press as the

manager and later the editor-in-chief of *The Leader Newspaper*. The seed he implanted in me has blossomed and grown to doctoral level. To Bishop Moses Chikwe, the Auxiliary Bishop of Owerri Archdiocese, I am grateful for his love and encouragement. Equally, I am grateful to Bishop David Konderla, the Bishop of Catholic diocese of Tulsa and Eastern Oklahoma, who has given me a place and an enabling environment to work and do my studies. On the same note, I am particularly indebted to Bishop Edward J. Slattery (Bishop Emeritus) who welcomed me with open arms into his diocese and allowed me to pursue my academic dream. Thank you, his Excellencies, may God reward you all abundantly.

Being a pastor of three Parishes and doing graduate studies can be challenging, and it could not have worked well without the excellent cooperation of my able parish secretary, Mrs. Barb Karlin. Barb, thank you so much. To Mrs. Kristine Mertes, your editorial expertise and technical know-how really refined the layout and look of my work. Thank you! To my co-workers Deacons Kenny Longbrake, David Hamel and Gleen Collum, it has been rewarding working with you all. Thank you for your awesome cooperation.

The moral support and encouragement of my friends cannot be forgotten in the success of this work, especially, Frs. Paul Amaliri, Anthony Mbaegbu, Daniel Anyannwu, Ph.D., Cyriacus Anayo Oguh, and Louis Obirieze. I say thank you for being there for me always! I am also grateful to Dr. Al Cardenas and his family for their friendship and love. To my other friends Michael Serwonoo, Ph.D., and especially my parishioners from Cushing, Drumright and Pawnee, you have shown me what Christian love is all about. I am grateful to you all.

The last and not the least, the members of my family, my mother, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, I am forever grateful for their love and support in all my understandings. The trust and confidence you have in me has been the propelling force of my success in life. Thank you so much!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF TABLES	xv
TABLE OF FIGURES	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Purpose	9
Theory	9
Rationale	10
CHAPTER 2: COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL INFLUENCES.....	12
Africa and Western Colonization (15th Century to the Coming of the Europeans).....	12
The Scramble for Africa (1884-1885)	17
The Colonization of Africa (19th and 20th Century).....	19
The Effects of Colonialism on Africa	22
Chinese Presence in Africa (20th and 21st Century)	27
China and Neo-Colonialism in Africa	29
China's Soft Power in Africa.....	29
Soft Power and Neo-Colonialism in Africa	32
Competition for Raw Material.	32
International market share.....	33
Global influence and prestige.	34

Neo-Colonialism as Assimilation and Diffusion	35
Assimilation as Mechanism of Neo-Colonialism	38
Education	40
Language and Cultural Exports	42
Diffusion as Mechanism of Neo-Colonialism	44
Aid Regime and Infrastructural Investment.....	45
Media	46
CHAPTER 3: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTION.....	53
Institution and Its Role.....	54
The Role of Institutions in Building Professions.....	57
Professionalism: Values and Ideology.....	59
Institutional Characteristics	64
African Institutions in general.	66
African News Media Institution.....	68
Media's role in democracies: Overview.	71
Media's role in African democracies.....	73
The colonial press.	74
The nationalist press.	76
The post-colonial press.	78
The media in the 21st century Africa.....	80
CHAPTER 4: THE VARIOUS NORMATIVE INFLUENCES ON AFRICAN MEDIA.....	86
What Is Normative Influence in Journalism Theory?	86

African Cultural Influences on Media Norms	89
Western Communitarianism vs. Afro-Communitarianism	97
The Role of Communitarian Based Ethics in African Media	102
Western/Colonial Media Paradigm.....	108
Chinese Developmental Media Paradigm.....	111
Professionalism and the State of African Journalism	116
Relevance of Codes of Ethics to Professionalism.....	123
Summary of colonial and Neocolonial Influences and Research Questions	128
Content Analysis Questions.....	132
Interview Questions	133
CHAPTER 5: METHOD	134
Phase 1: Quantitative	136
Content Analysis.....	136
Codes of Ethics	138
Targeted Population.....	139
Sampling	141
Conceptualization and Operationalisation	142
Code Book	144
Reliability and Validity.....	146
Analysis and Interpretation.....	150
Phase 2: Qualitative	151
Population	152

China as a Prototype	153
China as Partner	154
China as a Persuader	154
Sample for the Phase 2.....	159
Recruitment.....	160
Procedures.....	162
Analysis.....	163
Verification	164
CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS	165
The Quantitative Content Analysis.....	165
The Qualitative Interviews.....	166
Preamble	172
Articles.....	173
Interview Questions	175
Western Normative Influences	176
Individual	178
Truth.....	180
Diversity or Different Views	182
Freedom from Government.....	183
African Normative Influences.....	184
Community	186
Solidarity.....	187

Harmony	188
Freedom for community	189
Chinese Normative Influences	189
China as a Partner	204
China as a Persuader	207
China as a Prototype	210
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	214
Values Identified in the Codes	215
Values Reflecting Western, African and Chinese Developmental Values	217
Western Values	217
African Communitarian Values	218
Chinese Developmental Values	219
Various Functions in the Codes	220
Accountability to Public	221
Accountability to Sources/Referents	222
Accountability to State and Accountability to the Employers	223
Professional Self-Regulatory Mechanism	224
The Normative Influences in the Operation of African Journalists	225
Western Influences	225
African Values Influence	227
Chinese Developmental Values	229
Weak self-regulatory mechanisms and Africa's weak media institution	231

Professionalization of African Media	234
CONCLUSION	237
REFERENCES	239
APPENDIX	285
APPENDIX 1: Map of Africa Showing Sub-Saharan African Countries	285
APPENDIX 2: Chinese Investment in Africa	286
APPENDIX 3: Code Book	287
APPENDIX 4: Questionnaire Protocol	302

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1: Operationalization of normative news values.....	145
Table 2: The three-dimensional measures of China in South Africa	155-156
Table 3: The three-dimensional measures of China in Ghana.....	156-157
Table 4: The three-dimensional measures of China in Nigeria	157-158
Table 5: Presence of values in African codes of ethics	167-168
Table 6: Functions of media in ethical codes (RQ 3)	172- 173
Table 7: Professional self-regulatory mechanisms in ethical codes (RQ 4)	174

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The ethical influence on an individual person.....	104
Figure 2: Presence of values in African ethics codes.....	169
Figure 3: Functions of media in ethical codes	171
Figure 4: Professional self-regulatory mechanisms in ethical codes	175
Figure 5: Normative influence in daily journalistic practice	177
Figure 6: Self-regulatory process/code enforcement	192
Figure 7: Chinese influence in Sub-Saharan African media	204

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The current performance of the African media is problematic (Mfumbusa, 2008). The evidence and the concomitant effect of this problem is the preponderance of such themes as lack of professionalism, poor reporting practices, and corruption (i.e. brown envelope syndrome), in the African media literature (Ansah, 1996; Gade, Nduka, & Dastgeer, 2017; Grosswiler, 1997; Karikari, 1996; Kasoma, 2010, 2000, 1996; Mfumbusa, 2008; Ndangam, 2006; Nwabueze, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 1999; Skjerdal, 2010; Traber, 1989). Perhaps it is for this reason; Menkiti (2001) argues that the lack of performance of the African media can be attributed to normative failure. For him the problem lies in the inability of the African media to evolve a proper normative framework from the confluence of influences within it.

But before the coming of the Europeans into Africa, Africa had a well-developed culture and values (Blake, 1993; Rodney, 1972), and a well-developed means of communication based on its values and needs (Obiagwu, 2018). Obiagwu (2018) noted that the African traditional media are means of communication in the various communities and villages in Africa. And they are the various talking drums, folk songs, drama, town criers etc. Wilson (1987) pointed out that the traditional system of communication is a continuous process of information dissemination, entertainment and education used by societies (e.g. Africans) that have not been dislocated by Western culture and any other external influence. He further noted that the traditional systems were trusted and people used them because they believed in what comes out of them.

The traditional means of communication in Africa reflect the ethical and cultural values of the African people (Obiagwu, 2018; Wilson, 1987; Ugboajah, 1985), and they are effective. Obiagwu (2018) further argues that the lack of African values and culture in the conventional media has affected their level of acceptance in Africa. Ansu-Kyeremeh (1997) pointed out the dysfunctional structure of communication imposed on Africa during the colonial occupation. He argues that this is the case due to the lack of building on the indigenous institutional roots of African societies. From this standpoint, he pointed out the need to revitalize African institutions, especially the communication process, because it will bring about the structural transformation of the socio-political organization in Africa.

The revitalization of the communication process in Africa as Ansu-Kyeremeh (1997) argues should be premised on the norm of African culture. And this is as White (2008) pointed out that in Africa, “All communication is expected to teach, to communicate community values and to honor people in the group” (p. 17). He further noted that to belong and be part of the community is to know about singing, dance, drama, storytelling, good rhetorical speaking and the effective use of proverbs. This is the case as many African scholars see communitarianism as central to African values. African communication scholars view good communication in terms of the capacity to build bonds of solidarity and the integration of the individual into the community (Faniran, 2008; Moemeka, 1998, 1987; Ugboajah, 1985). White (2008) argues that to lose these values in an African communication paradigm is to cease to be African and to lose something very valuable in the cultural diversity of the world.

The absence of African cultural values in the shaping and formation of media norms in Africa is a problem. This is because it creates a gap between the existing media norms in Africa

and the held cultural values of the people it is supposed to serve. Indeed, today the African media is a hybrid of influences drawing from Western influence and of late the Chinese developmental model. Kavalski (2013) designated Europe (West) and China as normative powers. They are so called because of their ability to define what passes as ‘normal’ in international life (p. 248). Jackson (1975) referred to normative power as “the potential for influencing activity that is inherent in interpersonal identification or shared orientations” (p. 238). In the case of Africa these normative powers have influenced the normative framework of the African press. This is the case since as Karikari (2007) noted “...the media in Africa is a product of political developments and histories of the continent” (p. 11).

The history of Africa after the 15th century to date is a history of colonization and neo-colonization. But precisely at the end of the 19th century, during the ‘Scramble for Africa’, European powers staked claims to virtually the entire continent (Meredith, 2011). Meredith (2011) pointed out that at the meetings in Berlin, Paris, London and other capitals, European powers bargained over the separate spheres of influence and interest they intended to establish in Africa. Antwi-Boateng (2017) noted that Britain and France were the dominant powers in the 19th and 20th century and the dominant actors in African colonization. The British governed their African colonies through the policy of indirect rule. This policy implies relying on African elites to rule their people (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). France, however, employed assimilation policy to govern their colonies. The assimilation policy of the French was based on the policy of expanding French culture to the colonies (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). Over time through the processes of diffusion and assimilation these colonial powers planted their values and norms in Africa.

The history of external influence on Africa did not stop with colonization by European powers. More recently, Chinese engagement in Africa shares similarities in motivation and goals with the European powers but with different strategies (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). He further argues that China through the use of soft power has resorted to indirect modes of engagement such as bilateral trade agreements and investments both in media and other sectors. Antwi-Boateng (2017) concludes that China is neo-colonialist in Africa but does not have interest in territorial control as such. Gaglaidone, Stremlau and Nkrumah (2012) pointed out a three-pronged framework to study the engagement of China in Africa. They viewed China as a *partner*, as a *prototype* and as a *persuader*. This framework demonstrates the various ways China uses soft power to leverage its influence in Africa.

However, the media industry the world over is shaped by globalization while acting at the same time to facilitate globalization (Wasserman, 2006). On this note, Schudson (2013) argues that the global spread of European colonial expansion was greatly influenced by American innovation. Notwithstanding the globalization influence, Hafez (2007) argues that “Media production and use are proving conservative cultural forces in many parts of the world. They are generating a reality which the ‘globalization’ approach struggles to cope with” (p. 2). Little wonder, Schudson (2013) agrees that news has a cultural form. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, (1956) pointed out that each press norm should be informed and colored by the social and political structures within which it operates. The statement by Siebert et al. (1956) though it refers to a general normative framework, underscores the fact that the media institution and journalism profession in Africa should be informed and shaped by its realities.

It is the maze of socio-political and philosophical realities of the relationship between media and society that gave birth to the *four theories of the press* by Siebert et al. (1956). Thus, the press “reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted. We believe that an understanding of these aspects of society is basic to any systematic understanding of the press” (Siebert et al., 1965, pp. 1-2). These socio-political-philosophical realities were represented by the following typologies: Authoritarian, Soviet Communist, Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories (Siebert et al., 1956).

The Western media systems, which Britain and France are part of, were an outcome of the Enlightenment period. Siebert et al. (1956) pointed out that the nuts and bolts of the libertarian press system were developed by Milton and John Locke in the seventeenth century. The core of the libertarian press system is the centrality of the individual, the use of rationality, and the gift of natural rights to man which includes freedom of religion, speech and the press. Under the libertarian press system, Siebert et al. (1956) pointed out that the press is charged with responsibility to give a full account of the activities of the government. Conversely, China operates a different media system known as the developmental media system. To a certain degree it is an off-shoot of the Soviet Communist media system as it is a “straight cut of Lenin and the Communist concept of the press” (Hachten, 1992, p. 72), a variation on the authoritarian press system. Hachten (1992) pointed out that the Chinese communication process is central to the achievement of national and economic development. For this reason, it provides the rationale for autocratic press control. The state controls all instruments of mass communication and the press should support the authority of the state. The ideological media paradigm of China differs from the Western ideological media paradigm. The ideological media paradigm of the West is to

be the watchdog and play an adversarial role to the government (Hachten, 1992; Siebert et al., 1956). The ideological media paradigm of China in Africa is the evolution of a new model of journalism that underscores “positive reporting” in which the media role is to support and collaborate with the government (Gaglairdone, 2013; Harber, 2013; Wekesa, 2013).

At the center of all these influences is the African media institution. Generally speaking, institutions are essential for the development and stability of the society (Durkheim, 1964). Gade et al. (2017) pointed out that institutions provide a valuable social function, as they define the guiding rules of society through frameworks that direct individual and organizational behaviors. And they have social contexts in their existence. Institutions, for the most part, provide the enabling environment for the growth and development of professions. This is the link between institutions and professions. In emerging democracies such as some nations in Africa, institutions are less established and stable (Gade et al., 2017). And this creates a gap in the development of professions in such societies. Perhaps this could account for the lesser development of the African media institutions as a result of the colonial heritage of weak institutions in Africa (Shirley, 2005).

Siebert et al. (1956) noted that the press should reflect the basic beliefs and assumptions which the society holds. Therefore, the media theory of a given society should reflect the values of that given society. Following this assumption, Kasoma (1996) noted that the tragedy facing African journalism from the 1990s and beyond is the imitation of the professional values of the West. For Kasoma (1996) the overarching thesis of the African journalistic norm is based on media in the industrialized societies of the North. This made Nyamnjoh (2009) assert that the precepts of journalism that are applied currently in Africa are at variance with the dominant ideas

of personhood and agency that are shared by communities across the continent. Nyamnjoh (2009) noted that this incongruity is at the center of the professional and ethical dilemmas that haunt journalism in Africa. To this end, Kasoma (1996) and other African media scholars have called for the African journalists to draw from the African society's humane approach to life to redeem the disintegrating world press, and the African press in particular (Chinweizu, 1999; Ziegler & Asante, 1992). This notion, however, was critiqued by Tomaselli (2003) who saw this move as an utterly reductive assumption about the 54 African countries with diverse culture, religions and languages to a homogeneous set of continent-wide social and cultural "African values" (p. 428). Furthermore, Tomaselli (2003) argues that this whole effort by African media scholars is simply to 'protect' Africans from the allegedly insidious influences of so-called (Western) 'foreign culture', 'alien' genres of reporting (Kasoma, 2000, p. 85). Notwithstanding the critique one can still see that the African press norm is shaped by myriad of influences. In the African media literature, many scholars have noted China as the third actor in the 'hierarchy of influences' (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, 1996). Though relatively new, African media scholars have argued that Chinese involvement in the African media brings an entire new set of cultural and press norms (Banda, 2009; Gagliardone, Repnikova & Stremlau, 2010; Mosher & Farah, 2010). What these scholars are saying is that the involvement of China in the African media landscape will further erode African cultural values, influence and control over the development of the African media system.

Interestingly, Christian, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White (2009) advancing beyond the *Four Theories of the Press* noted important issues in journalism and democracy over the five decades by stating not only the original typology postulated in the aforementioned book,

namely, the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist concepts, but also other socio-political-philosophical realities that have given birth to other typologies of the press. At the same time, in their treatment of the developing world such as Asia, Africa and Latin America they noted rich cultural and philosophical traditions but added that they have ‘not nurtured major innovations in normative media theories’ (p. 13). They stated “Relevant contributions by scholars from the developing countries typically reflect *Four Theories* or its revisions – which could be another proof of the dependencies involved” (p. 13). On this standpoint, Nyamnjoh (2009) observed that African journalism is a journalism of ‘bandwagonism’ and mimicry that emphasizes less on thinking than doing, less on leading than on being led, and less on defining than on being defined. Because African journalism is a hybrid of influences it “lacks both the power of self-definition and the power to shape the universals that are deaf-and-dumb to the particularities of journalism in and on Africa” (p. 14). The problem of this research is in two parts: a) the inability of the African media to develop an adequate normative framework from the confluence of the Western values and the African values; b) the apparent influence of China in Africa since the start of the 21st century in the light of the framework that sees China as *partner*, as a *prototype* and as a *persuader* compounding the difficulties in professionalization of the African media. The study problem and the research purpose are related in the sense that they gear to explore the ways normative influences impact on the professionalization of the Sub-Saharan African media. This is because each medium in a given society should be colored by the values and ethos of that society (Kasoma, 1996).

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the influences of the African, Western and Chinese developmental model on African media norms and their effects on the professionalization of Sub-Saharan African journalism.

Theory

To study these influences “A hierarchy of influences model” developed by Shoemaker and Reese (2014, 1996) was utilized. This model considers factors at multiple levels of analysis that shape media content, the journalistic message system, from micro to macro: individual characteristics of specific newsmakers, their routines of work, organizational level concerns institutional issues, and larger social-systems (Reese, 2016, p. 5). The model “takes into account the multiple forces that simultaneously impinge on the media and suggest how influence at one level may interact with that at another” (Reese, 2014, p. 1). The model considers individual professional issues and larger macro social structures that affect journalism. For this reason, it identifies main factors that form and shape the symbolic reality constituted and produced by journalism, and how these factors interact with each other (Reese, 2016, p. 5). The research is not testing the “hierarchy of influences model” but it uses it only as a guide to the study of these influences in the African media institution. These influences were studied at several levels of the model, namely, ideological, external influences and professional levels. Reese (1990) noted that a news paradigm operates within the “larger ideological sphere, particularly in relation to hegemonic processes” (p. 394). In line with the importance of the ideological sphere, Reese and Shoemaker (1996) observed that all the other levels of influences tend toward the ideological level in relation to higher power centers in society. The ideological level is the sum total of all

the other levels in the hierarchy of the influences model. And so, this model provided a framework for understanding why this study examined the ideological and external influences on the African media as they are more important because they are stronger influences than the routine/professional level of influences. The ideological and external influences are examined at the institutional level as they shape and inform norms and practices of media professions.

Rationale

The study is important is to fill the gap that exist in the literature regarding empirical insight on the presence/absence of the various articulated influences in normative theory. In particular, it enriches and strengthens normative discourse by contributing the African values to the maze of other values that have informed the various normative frameworks. The study supports the basic idea that the obligations of the press should be consistent with values and arrangements in a given society (Kasoma, 1996; Siebert et al., 1956). Second, this study is based on the view that strong ethical norms of the African press that are informed and shaped by African realities will facilitate the professionalization process of the African journalism. This is because “Professionals use their knowledge for public service and are guided by professional codes of ethics” (Gade, et al., 2017, p. 14). Previous studies on media professionalization in Africa pointed out the prevalence of corruption among African journalists (Dirbaba, 2010; Gade et al., 2017; Mabweazara, 2010; Mfumbusa, 2008; Nwabueze, 2010; Skjerdal, 2010). This study further advance the previous findings by supporting the claim that the prevalence of corruption among African journalists is as a result of the gap between the journalism normative framework in African media and journalistic practice. This study is based on the premise that the professionalization of African journalism depends, for the most part, on informed journalistic

values that are shaped and nurtured by the socio-political-philosophical realities of the African society. Third, the study builds on previous studies on *Ubuntu* as a normative ethical framework in Africa that demonstrates the capacity for community, seen as the capacity for identifying with others and displaying solidarity (Bolden, 2014; Metz, 2011; Metz & Gaie, 2010). We now look at the body of literature on the subject of the study.

CHAPTER 2

COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL INFLUENCES

This chapter highlights the direct effects of colonial legacies. The colonization of Africa by European powers has a far reaching influence on the continent. Bayeh (2015) argues that contemporary African states are based on Western models and the political institutions of these African states are inherited from the colonial powers. Colonial rulers had every expectation that the countries they ruled should model their cultural and political traditions after Europe (Rodney, 1972). Thus, post-independence African states adopted Western models almost in everything. Nevertheless, this same influence is also exerted on the continent by China (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). In the recent times China has become a dominant power in the continent. And Chinese influence in Africa is studied in a three-pronged framework, namely, *China as a prototype, a partner, and a persuader* (Gagliardone, Stremlau & Nkrumah, 2012). As China plays a significant role in Africa, it also introduces its values and norms. Based on this, the values and norms of the post-independent African states are shaped and informed by Western and Chinese values and norms.

Africa and Western Colonization (15th Century to the Coming of the Europeans)

Before the advent of Europeans into Africa, the continent had existed as diverse constitutive communities across the continent. Reynal-Querol and Besley (2013) and Manning (2006) noted that before the colonial powers came to Africa, Africa existed as a patchwork of tribal structures and proto-states (historical kingdoms) with heterogeneous political systems. These communities were the *locus* of existence of the individual. Thus, Rodney (1972) argues that in Africa before the fifteenth century the principle of social relations was predicated on the

family and kinship connected with the community. Community in the African sense is “an association of men and women who have a special commitment to one another and developed (distinct) sense of their common life” (Coetzee, 2003, p. 322). Siegel (1996) noted that the family in Africa is used generally to include the extended family, several generations of relatives living at home and abroad. These concepts are so important in Africa because they underscore the ‘beingness’ of the African in the society. The dual concepts of the family and kinship (community) give every member of African society a position in the sense of communal belonging on his mother’s side and on his father’s side (Rodney, 1972, p. 36).

The importance of matrilineal ties and patrilineal ties depends on the culture of a given African community. Siegel (1996) noted some examples of matrilineal cultures in Africa to include the Asante and other Akan peoples of Ghana; South-central Africa, from Zaire and Angola to Tanzania, Mozambique and some parts of Zambia, while some examples of patrilineal cultures in Africa include the Central African Republic; Kenya, Eastern parts of Nigeria, the Yorubas of South-Western part of Nigeria and Uganda. The importance of these ties is that the survival of the individual in the African society is contingent upon them because of the ownership of land which was the major means of production (Rodney, 1972, p. 36). Land was owned by groups such as family and clan (Rodney, 1972, p. 36), and not by individuals. The means of production, namely, land and labor were dependent on the family and the clan. Thus, with the presence of age-grades (the grouping of people into an association in a community based on year of birth) in the African societies the labor force was easily mobilized in a short time. And so, for greater solidarity in the community the age-grades were essential as they cut across and involve many families. For this reason, the individual always has duties and

obligations to others and to the society as well as rights (Rodney, 1972, p. 37). This is the thesis of social solidarity and social responsibility inherent in the traditional African value system.

Rodney (1972) noted that under communalism in the African societies there were no classes, and there was equal access to land and equality in distribution. But all these changed with the coming of the Europeans in Africa in 1500 to 1885. The means of production, land and labor became exogenous from the community. And this marks the beginning of crises in values and norms in Africa. Rodney (1972) pointed out that one of the impacts of the colonial period on Africa was the idea of individualism. He further argues that when individualism was applied to land private ownership and transfer of land through sale were introduced in the continent. But in African communalism land and labor were based on family and community. Arguing further he noted that for the first time in African history the idea of the individual benefitting from his labor alone instead of the entire community became prevalent. And this brought about individualistic accumulative tendencies that put an end to the collective labor and the egalitarian social distribution that the African society was known for. Thus, “under communalism every African was assured of sufficient land to meet his own needs by virtue of being a member of a family or community” (Rodney, p. 41).

The value of community even till this day in the African world view is important in order to understand anything that is African. To this end, Kanu (2010) argues that the authentic African is known and identified in, by and through his or her community. This is the case as Onwubiko (1991) argues that the African idea of security is contingent on one’s identification with and within the community. Thus, Coetzee (2003) defines the community as “an ongoing association of men and women who have a special commitment to one another and developed

(distinct) sense of their common life” (p. 322). He further contends that communal identity is the community’s characteristic way of life, to which the members have kept over time as an integral cultural whole. For this reason, community gives the African physical and ideological identity (Kanu, 2010). And so, the enduring power of community is evoked in Africa since “the community as an entity remains, while individuals, as persons, come and go” (Kanu, 2010, p. 154). The community is then the *locus* of existence and communalism is the “living principle of which the basic ideology is community-identity. Its aim is to produce and present an individual as a community culture bearer” (Kanu, 2010, p. 155).

However, from the late fifteenth century Africa, Europe and the Americas came into contact. Eltis (2007) argues that from this period, the Atlantic Ocean, once a formidable barrier that prevented regular interaction among the people living in the four continents it crossed became a commercial highway that linked the histories of Africa, Europe and the Americas for the first time. The event that led to this interaction, Eltis (2007) noted, was the decline of the Amerindian population while labor from Africa formed the basis of the exploitation of gold and agriculture resources of the export sectors of the Americas. Similarly, Rodney (1972) argues that with the decline in the indigenous Indian population and Europe having a very small population that could not afford the labor required to tap the wealth of the Americas, Europeans turned to the nearest continent, Africa, which at that time had a population that was used to settled agriculture and disciplined labor (p. 78). To this end, sugar plantations became the major absorption of well over two-thirds of slaves that crossed the Atlantic by the European and Euro-American powers (Manning, 1993, 1990). For this reason, Eltis (2007) concludes that for several centuries slavery was the singular reason for the contact between Europeans and Africans. Foner

(2005) corroborated this point by advancing the argument that what the plantations needed at this time was a cheap and constant labor supply, and slavery met this demand as the Trans-Atlantic slave trade provided stable supply of labor by the slaves. Hence, colonial slavery provided labor for large-scale commodity production (McMichael, 1991). For this reason, Foner (2005) noted that by the sixteenth century, the demand for cheap labor to exploit the new continent's (America) resources created a large market for slaves, and slave traffic in Africa changed from a mere trade to a major economic enterprise that provided enormous profits for the rising European capitalist class. According to the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database more than 13 million slaves from Africa crossed the Atlantic into the Americas (Whatley, 2014). Paradoxically speaking, Mann (2007) argues that the Atlantic slave trade turned human beings, a valuable resource in Africa, into a commodity that had monetary value that could be bought and sold.

Notwithstanding the number slaves taken out of Africa, scholars' opinion of the impact of the slave trade on Africa is divided (Manning, 1983). Some scholars believed that the slave trade had little impact on Africa (Eltis, 1987; Thornton, 1988; Curtin, 1975); while some others have argued that slave the trade had huge political and economic effects on Africa (Rodney, 1972; Inikori, 1982; Davidson, 1961).

It was the reason that the slave trade negatively affected the African continent but favored Europe that some African scholars such as Eric Williams (1944) and Walter Rodney (1972) have argued that African people contributed to the economic development of Western Europe. Thus, Williams (1944) argues that there is a causal relationship between early capitalism embodied by Great Britain and the black slave trade. It is worth noting that some scholars have suggested and

argued that the Atlantic slave system was the most important factor in the domestic sector of the British economy between the periods of 1750-1830 (Eltis & Engerman, 2000).

Recently, Inikori (2002) has also alluded to the upsurge of interest in the late 1930s and early 1940s in the contribution of the African people to the economic development of the parts of Western Europe in the scholarly work of those of African descent in the Americas such as C.L. R. James, published in 1938, Dr. Abram Harris, published in 1930s and Eric Williams, published in 1944. This depicts the contribution made by freed and liberated African slaves to the development of the European economy. However, with the abolition of the slave trade Europe entered a new phase of exploitation of the African continent in the scramble and partition of Africa.

The Scramble for Africa (1884-1885)

The European quest for extending their power and influence over Africa was prompted by three main factors, namely, economic, political and social (Foeken, 1995; Asiwaju, 1985; Koponen, 1993; Ekeh, 1975). The scramble and partition of Africa, which occurred from 1884-1885, was the period between the end of slave trade and the beginning of colonialism (Michapoulos & Papaionnou, 2011). The event marked a watershed moment in the history of Africa. This is as, Gbenenye (2016) has argued, many colonial boundaries in Africa are traceable to the Berlin conference of 1884-1885, which was the climax of the scramble and partition of Africa. And ironically he noted that since this event Africa has not known peace. To this end, Michalopoulos and Papaioannu (2011) argue that the artificial borders created ethnic struggles and conflict as they divide groups across the newly found African states. This view is in line with the thought of many African scholars who noted that improper border design is the main avenue

for the Europeans' influence on Africa (Asiwaju, 1995; Wesseling, 1996; Dowden, 2008; Thomson, 2010).

Iweriebor (2011) argues that this development took place in the nineteenth century following the collapse of the lucrative slave trade occasioned by its abolition as well as the European capitalist industrial revolution. Thus, Iweriebor (2011) noted that the political rivalry among the European powers coupled with the desire to dominate and become the superpower nation in Europe was the chief political reason that propelled the scramble for Africa. Hence, "Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Spain were competing for power within European power politics" (p. 11). Following to the political impetus was the social factor. The industrialization of Europe created a huge social problem. The center of togetherness based on the family and community was dismantled. Iweriebor (2011) further argues that this created unemployment, poverty, homelessness and social displacement from rural areas. To cushion the effects of these, European powers looked elsewhere for assured sources of raw materials and search for guaranteed markets as well as profitable investment outlets. Thus, Africa became the victim and paid the price for this. And so, by the early twentieth century much of Africa had been colonized by European powers excluding Ethiopia and Liberia (Iweriebor, 2011).

Consequently, the renewed interest in Africa was so fierce that it nearly led to conflicts and war among the European powers. Iweriebor (2011) argues that it was in a bid to avoid the looming war and conflict that in November 1884 to February 1885, the German Chancellor Otto Van Bismarck convoked the summit of European powers in the late nineteenth century. He further noted that "This was the famous Berlin West African Conference (more generally known as the Berlin Conference)" (Iweriebor, 2011, p. 1). Iweriebor (2011) concludes that the end

product of this summit was a treaty that provided the ground for the eventual partition, conquest and the total annexation of Africa by the European powers without the African peoples participating in it.

Shih-tsung (1998) points out that one of the outcomes of the conference was the agreement that each power that effectively occupied African territory should duly notify other powers to indicate the claim and right of possession. And so, by the end of nineteenth century international treaties between the European powers, namely, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal clearly show the distribution of the interior boundaries of Africa among them (Shih-tsung, 1998, p. 202). Thus, the European powers viewed the Conference of Berlin as a productive meeting in the sense that it ultimately curbed the imperial ambitions of the powers by means of internationally coordinated action (Shih-tsung, p. 202)

However, the gap in participation in this summit and the drawn up treaty led to differential interpretation of the treaty by the contending parties, namely, African rulers and the European powers. Again, Iweriebor (2011) contends that for the European powers the treaty meant that the African rulers had signed away and ceded their sovereignty to them. For the African rulers the treaty meant a simple diplomatic and commercial friendship treaty. Thus, the result of the differential interpretation of the treaty and eventual discovery by the African rulers of the intended plan of the colonial powers to impose on them political authority, usurpation of their land, as well as colonial domination led to pockets of resistance in some African societies.

The Colonization of Africa (19th and 20th Century)

The colonization of Africa nation dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Ekeh, 1975). Ajayi (1989) argues that the “early nineteenth century introduced new

factors of change into African history, notably the new interest of Europeans not merely in trade but also in intervening directly in the social and economic life of African peoples” (p. 21). This epoch reveals the penetration of the European powers into the heart of the African continent even though they were often resisted by some African rulers.

The resistance mounted by various African rulers to colonial domination shows that the Africa people did not accept the Europeans extending their powers and influence over them. Thus, Msellemu (2013) argues that the colonization of Africa by the European powers provoked resistance in different places. The indigenous people showed their frustration regarding domination by the European powers. From East Africa in the case of the ‘Chimurenga war’ (1896-1897); to the ‘Maji Maji’ war fought against the Germans in Tanganyika (1905-1907); to South Africa and West Africa and the case of the ‘Mau Mau’ in Kenya, the story remains the same (Msellemu, 2013, Pp. 145-152). To this end, Nyerere (1966) said

...the people fought because they did not believe in the white man’s right to govern and civilize the black. They rose in a great rebellion not through fear of terrorist movement or superstitious Oath, but in a response to a natural call, a call of the spirit, ringing in the heart of all men, educated or uneducated, and in all times to rebel against foreign domination. (pp. 40-41).

The foreign domination of the African continent by the European powers gained traction with the parceling of African land among the various European powers in the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. Each of these European powers got a huge portion of the continent to take as a possession. Shih-tsung (1998) argues that the Berlin Act of 1885 created the definition of the law of occupation. This is because it insisted that the occupation of African territory had to be effective

to be legal. The right of occupation guarantees to the European powers ‘spheres of influence’ over the territory. Lugard (1922), who was the first Governor-General of Nigeria from 1914-1919 noted that the ‘sphere of influence’ was a neologism of the Berlin conference that was indicated by Article 6 of the Act, in reference to “sovereign rights or influence”. He, therefore, said that the “sphere of influence” was used to “designate those regions over which the right to exercise exclusive political influence was claimed, but in which no rights over the natives could be logically exercised, and no properly accredited representative of the suzerain power could be appointed, until some legal claim had been established” (pp. 12-13). Shih-tsung (1998) argues that the “sphere of influence” was one of the most important political institutions of the colonial era. With this the total colonization of African continent was set in motion.

The colonial powers brought their influence to bear on the African continent and its people. Rodney (1972) laid out the interplay of power in the imbalanced relationship between the colonizers and the African society by arguing that

When two societies of different sorts come into prolonged and effective contact, the rate and character of change taking place in both is seriously affected to the extent that entirely new patterns are created. Two general rules can be observed to apply in such cases. First, the weaker of the two societies (i.e., the one with less economic capacity) is bound to be adversely affected- and the bigger the gap between the two societies concerned the more detrimental are the consequences. (p. 11)

The African continent in this case being the weaker society was adversely affected. Thus, Reynal-Querol et al. (2013) argue that on account of this unequal relationship the traditional power structures of the African societies were weakened by colonialism.

To exert their influence and control on African people various European powers adopted different political structures. Here British and France are going to be considered because the literature regards them as the most successful colonizers of the African continent (Ekeh, 1995, p. 96). Meredith (2005) and Sharkey (2013) independently noted that the British in particular favored a system of ‘indirect rule’ which involved the use of African local authorities to keep order, collect taxes and supply labor. On the other hand, the French adopted a colonial policy of ‘assimilation’ which was all about imbibing French ways (Sharkey, 2013). Thus, as the British authorities tolerated the use of African vernaculars as medium for instruction, the French colonial authorities promoted the use of French as ‘*lingua franca*’ throughout their colonized states (Sharkey, 2013, p. 4). This had a devastating effect on the continent but particularly on the parts that were colonized by France. The indigenous languages and the people’s cultural way of life were lost. And a foreign culture and language as well as ways of life were imposed on the people. This is one of the effects of the colonization of the African continent.

The Effects of Colonialism on Africa

The involvement of European powers in the African continent has had a lasting influence on the continent as a whole. Ayayi (1989) asserts that the Europeans’ interest in Africa during the nineteenth century introduced new factors of change not only in trade but also in the social and economic life of African people. Speaking about the effects of colonialism on Africa, Settles (1996) pointed out that it altered the history of Africa forever. And he further argues that colonialism brought about change in African modes of thought, patterns of cultural development as well as ways of life forever through their policies.

Notable among such policies of colonial powers is the French policy of ‘assimilation’ which imposed French ways of life and destroyed the indigenous culture and language. In this regard, Sharkey (2013) argues that the process of ‘assimilation’ granted a degree of citizenship to those African elites who at the beginning embraced the French language and French ways as they were called *évolués* (evolved ones). Oliver and Atmore (1981) remarked that by 1848 over 80,000 African inhabitants of the four old coastal communes of Senegal had received special privileges by France as citizens. Hence, the goal of France and other European powers as one could argue was to propagate European culture along with the rationalist and libertarian values derived from the Enlightenment and French Revolution that are antithetical to African cultural values (Sharkey, 2013).

Thus, Alemazung (2010) argues that the resultant effect of colonialism is that the social, cultural and the political lives of the people and societies in Africa were significantly interrupted and transformed by the policies of the European colonial powers. Eko (2003) captured the effect of this on Africa especially the French assimilation policy, when he asserted that it transformed Africans in French colonies into black French men and women. To this end, colonialism made Africans “to think, to behave and live a way of life like the people in the colonizer’s homeland” (Alemazung, 2010, p. 63).

The vehicle for this cultural imperialism on the African continent by the colonial powers was the process of education. Banza and Mwambazambi (2014) pointed out that colonial education played a significant role in dissocializing and de-Africanizing of Africans. And this applies in particular to those who were educated to serve the interest of the colonial masters.

They further argue that education and other colonial institutions in Africa influenced Africans to jettison the spirit of communal solidarity while embracing the colonial individualistic lifestyle.

Many African scholars and leaders have expressed similar views regarding the role colonial education and other institutions played in African in the process of destroying African culture. Senghor (1988) noted that the greatest pitfall of colonial education was the effort to remove Africans from their cultural values. It is not then surprising when Abdou Moumuni said “colonial education corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes” (cited in Rodney, 1972, p. 249). Similarly, Rodney (1972) argues that the French, Portuguese and the Belgians designed education at all levels as a process “to civilize the African native” (p. 247). Through education ‘a civilized native’ was able to find employment and acceptability in the colonized world and by the colonial powers. And so, Rodney (1972) submitted

According to the French, an African, after receiving French education, stood a chance of becoming an *assimilé* –one who could be assimilated or incorporated into the superior French culture. The Portuguese used the word *assimilado*, which means exactly the same; and the Portuguese colonial law distinguished sharply between a native and *assimilado*. (p. 247)

Apart from using education as tool of cultural imperialism, it was dangled before the African as the only road to success in the colonized world. Rodney (1972) argues that colonial powers such as Portuguese enacted laws that distinguished between ‘a native and an *assimilado*’ (p. 247). Because the *assimilado* could read and write in Portuguese he was “rewarded with certain privileges” (Rodney, 1972, p. 247).

The above practice was widespread among the various colonial powers. The Belgian in the Congo called the civilized Bantu *évolués* “those who have evolved from savagery to civilization.” (Rodney, 1972, p. 248). It should be noted to their credit that the British did not put in place this stringent policy for their colonies, yet they intended that “...the African should cease to think as an African and instead should become ‘a fair-minded Englishman’” (Rodney, 1972, p. 248). Therefore, through education the African was colonized and capitulated to the values of the European powers (Rodney, 1972, p. 248), or what Irele (2009) called the “redeeming function of Western civilizing values” (p. 133). And so, the colonial educational system as well as the informal value system of colonialism put an end to African social solidarity and created alienated Africans who so saw no need of the social responsibility inherent in the African value system (Rodney, 1972, p. 255).

The use of the media was not spared in the campaign and the process to supplant African culture with the colonial cultures. Eko (2003) argues that the French in particular only authorized newspapers written in French and controlled from Paris to be published in their entire colonies. They placed heavy tax on newsprint and printing machines so that the locals could not afford them much less the cost of printing newspapers in their own language. Eko (2003) further argues that “one of the roles of the French colonial press was to advance the colonial assimilationist policy through the promotion of the “*frenchification*” of Africans” (p. 100). To this end, Eko (2003) noted that the production of local newspapers was discouraged while the publication of French newspapers was greatly encouraged. For this reason, one could deduce that the only reason for the promotion of French language and French newspapers was to make sure that the

assimilation policy took hold throughout the French colonies. And this had significant effects on the development of journalistic norms in French speaking African countries.

Based on the adduced reasons, Alemazung (2010) argues that the various policies of the European powers in their colonies interrupted the culture and the way of life of the African people. However, Rodney (1972) despite his criticism of colonialism argues that among the colonial administrators many of them genuinely thought that they were doing Africans a great favor through their education and other policies (p. 250). Regardless of how one looks at the literature on the European adventure into Africa and the subsequent colonization of the African continent, it had a lasting influence on the culture and the way of life of the African people. The point is, well before the 21st century the African people had much experience with colonialism and neo-colonialism and their impact.

The French philosopher of existentialism and phenomenology, Jean-Paul Sartre, in 1956 used the term ‘neo-colonialism’ which marked the first historical reference of the term in his classic critique of French policies in Algeria in the 1950s and 1960s. Sartre (1964) argues against neo-colonialism by saying “The neocolonialist is a fool who still believes that colonial system can be overhauled –or a clever cynic who proposes reforms because he knows that they are ineffective” (p. 54). Indeed, neo-colonialism denotes a form of colonialism that dominates and exploits countries in a delicate form (Arden, 1965). Realizing the danger of neo-colonialism facing the new independent African countries, the political leaders of the various African countries gathered together in 1961 at a Conference in Cairo, Egypt. They noted the emergence of a new form of colonialism and decried that “the emerging African countries have become victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or

technical means.” (cited in Legum Pan-Africanism, p. 254). In the same vein, Nkrumah (1965) the leader of the new Independent Ghana argues that neo-colonialism represents imperialism in its final but most dangerous stage. He further contends that in neo-colonialism the direction takes various shapes in the form of military presence, economic or monetary means, provisions of aid or loans to run the state, placements of civil servants in positions where they can dictate policy, monetary control over foreign exchange and monopoly of markets by the imperialist power (p. 1). It is a case of indirect manipulation of an independent nation (s) by an outside power for the sole benefit of the latter.

The increased economic activity of China in Africa in the last century to date has drawn much attention (Wasserman, 2014). This has prompted some scholars to look at China’s economic activity in Africa from the lens of friend or foe (Savino, 2018; Botha, 2006), or China as neo-colonialist (Frynas & Paulo, 2006; Zweig & Bi, 2005). And this leads to the other normative power in Africa in the case of Chinese involvement in Africa.

Chinese Presence in Africa (20th and 21st Century)

According to Anshan (2007) and Taylor (2009) Africa is of paramount importance to China. And this is shown in the 2006, *China’s African Policy*, whitepaper that enunciated a comprehensive and long-term plan of the Sino-African cooperation. This is the case, and Carmody and Owusu (2007) argue that China has established a potential hegemony in Africa. And more, some scholars in the literature of China-African relations have identified China as an emerging global power (Gill, Huang & Morrison, 2007). To this end, China and the West have been identified as normative powers (Kavalski, 2013, 2007). And they are so because of their ability to shape and influence ‘shared orientations’ (Jackson, 1975; Shoeman, 2007). To able to

shape and influence others, China is acknowledged as a major economic and political driver of global change (Gu et al., 2007).

The result of the global power change as Gu et al. (2007) argue is the fundamental power shift towards China which has disrupted the global power dynamics warranting a transition from a unipolar, US and Western dominated world order, to a multipolar world order now comprising US, China, Europe and India (p. 5). Thus, Quinn (2011) reported that while on a state visit to Zambia the United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in (2011) warned against “new colonialism of Africa”. And she recalled the colonial period that saw an easy access to Africa, taking out natural resources and paying off political leaders.

In the midst of this growing concern about China’s influence in Africa, China has framed its relationship with Africa from an historical perspective (Alden & Alves, 2008; Large, 2008; Zheng, 2010). Alden et al. (2008) and Renard (2011) noted that the relationship between China and Africa dates back to the 2nd and 15th centuries. They argue that China by casting the historical context of this relationship intends to establish a spectrum of continuity which differs from the Western approaches that refrain from discussions of their past and avoid embracing the policy of continuity because of their history of colonialism of Africa.

Renard (2011) noted that in the 15th century the Chinese navigator, Zheng He, reached the coast of Africa four times, stopping at Somalia and Kenya. She further argues that this engagement with Africa gains impetus again in 1949 after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China and on 18th to 24th April in the Bandung Conference in 1955. This conference was the first Afro-Asian conference with newly independent African States. Despite this benign historical context of trade relationship in Africa, China’s involvement in Africa is still viewed by

some from the lens of neo-colonialist power in Africa (Campbell, 2007; Chan-Fishel, 2007; Kasongo, 2011; Naidu, 2007).

China and Neo-Colonialism in Africa

Rich and Recker (2013) pointed out that the Chinese effort to have unhindered access to natural resources in Africa is often labeled as neo-colonialism. They noted that South African president Thabo Mbeki warned about the growing Sino-African relations as they have a semblance of neo-colonialism.

Furthermore, railing against neo-colonialism, Nkrumah (1965) argues that the effect of it is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. And such investments under neo-colonialism increase rather than decrease the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world (p. 1). In all these, one thing that is crystal clear is the covert, indirect and the subtle nature of neo-colonialism that dominates. And it bears the marks and characteristics of China's soft power engagement in Africa.

China's Soft Power in Africa

The term 'soft power' was first used by Joseph Nye, an American political scientist in 1990. Nye (2004) argues that soft power as a foreign policy thrust is "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" (p. x). In another instance, Nye (2002) submits that

Soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction...it rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values

(when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies , when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority. (p. 8)

Thus, soft power is the ability to attract others to oneself in this case without the use of hard power which is the military option. In its very nature it is covert, subtle in as much as it is an indirect influence of one over another. In this regard, Ding (2010) argues that China has stayed away from any military conflicts and has been ever compliant with international rules and norms. For this reason, China has become predictable and pragmatic in its foreign policy (Ding, 2010). Wang (2008) pointed out that to understand Chinese public diplomacy, one has to go beyond the diplomatic level and consider Chinese grand strategy. Nye (2005) noted the decline of American soft power while at the same time he pointed out the rise of Chinese soft power. Chinese government conceptualizes this issue from the point of view of a Chinese peaceful rise or peaceful development strategy (Wang, 2008). Wang (2008) further noted that the peaceful rise strategy means China is trying to get the world to accept its rising power. China's soft power falls into public diplomacy. And so, Li and Rønning (2013) argue that the concept of soft power bestows on China liberal political values as well as pragmatic advantages. This is the case as people willingly accept the influence of other countries because they are attractive to liberal political values. Furthermore, Li et al. (2013) noted that soft power in Nye's ideology constitutes these elements, namely, culture, policy approaches and political values (p. 104). Indeed, China has seized upon these elements and turned them into its own foreign policy apparatus.

According to Callahan (2015) the term 'soft power' was employed in the early 2000s in Beijing to describe China's paradigm shift in policies both domestic and foreign. And this was made clear when President Hu Jinta initiated his goal of 'building a harmonious society' in 2004

and subsequently in 2005 ‘building a harmonious world’. But the full discussion about soft power could take off only in 2007 when president Hu announced his aim to build China’s soft power in his Report to the 17th Party Congress. Following Nye’s ideas, Men Houghua (2013) develops and defines soft power “in terms of culture (including traditional culture), ideology, the China model of development (i.e. the Beijing Consensus rather than the Washington Consensus), the International system and the International image” (cited in Callahan, 2015, p. 5)

Thus, China utilizing the principles of soft power to make it attractive to African countries invokes the doctrine of good neighborliness. In this sense, Alden and Alves (2008) noted that China claims to belong to the Third World and shares the common history of colonialism with Africa. Corroborating this viewpoint, President Hu (2006) at the opening address of the China-African Summit reiterated that “In the modern era, our peoples launched unrelenting and heroic struggle against subjugation, and have written a glorious chapter in the course of pursuing freedom and liberation, upholding human dignity, and striving for economic development and national rejuvenation” (November, 4th, 2006). In this way, Ding (2010) argues that China differentiates itself from Western countries by showing its shared history of exploitation with Africa under Western colonialism.

The Sino-African relationship has grown in the 21st century with the establishment of the Forum on China-African Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 (Chun, 2013). The Sino-African relationship is defined in China-African policy of 2006 and it includes the following values:

Sincerity, friendship and equality (the political dimension). Mutual benefits, reciprocity and common prosperity (the economic dimension). Mutual support and close

coordination (the International dimension). Mutual learning and seeking common development (the cultural dimension). (p. 13)

And so, these four dimensions of political, economic, international and cultural are specific types of Chinese influence through the implementation of soft power in its African engagement.

Soft Power and Neo-Colonialism in Africa

Notwithstanding China's appeal to history, good neighborliness and shared experience with Africa, the question is, does China's motive regarding its engagement with Africa differ from the motives of the European colonizers of Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries? To answer this question a recap of the fundamental goals of colonialism is necessary here. Antwi-Boateng (2017) argues that the fundamental goal of colonialism was the exploitation of African resources for the good of the various colonial powers. He further framed the imperialist agenda in Africa as simply driven by social, economic and political factors. To this end, Antwi-Boateng (2017) did a comparative analysis of the motivation and similarities between Chinese and European engagement in Africa and came up with the following motivations and goals: competition for raw materials, pursuit of international markets and desire for global influence.

Competition for Raw Materials. According to Antwi-Boateng (2017) the competition for raw materials was the reason that brought the Europeans and the Chinese to Africa. He further noted that both Europe and China were in need of raw materials to feed and sustain their respective economic transformational growth. Many scholars in the literature argue that Chinese interest in Africa is propelled by its need for raw materials to sustain its economic growth (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017; Aldan, 2007; Bbaala, 2015; Chun, 2007; Konings, 2007; Taylor, 2006). Thus, Li and Rønning (2013) submit that the "impetus behind China's extractive

industrial engagement in Africa was to secure raw materials for its own industrials” (p. 103). For his part, Enuka (2010) argues that “The search for natural resources explains the tremendous increase in Chinese trade and investment in Africa” (p. 209). Similarly, Taylor (2009) states that China’s interest in Africa in ensuring resources, security and economic growth is by no means limited to oil, it encompasses all natural resources. And so, Mensah (2010) concludes that Africa is a ready market and supplier of a wide range of natural resources required for China’s economy. For this reason, Eisenman (2012) in his research finding argues that “African countries with few resources usually endure large trade deficits with China (e.g. Benin, Egypt, Ghana, Liberia, and Morocco) while resource exporters, by contrast, enjoy surpluses (e.g. Equatorial Guinea, Republic of Congo, Angola, Libya and Gabon)” (p. 806).

The World Bank 2008 report shows that 80% of the African exports to China consist of petroleum. Chan-Fishel (2007) argues that China’s interest in natural resources in Africa is the resemblance of the scramble for Africa in the twenty-first century. And this depicts Europe and China as having a common shared motivation in their engagement in Africa.

International market share. The growth of industrialization of both China and Europe in their respective epochs and the concomitant production of goods fueled the need for market outlets in Africa. Hence, Mohan and Power (2008) and Jackson (2012) argue that the Chinese economic agenda in Africa is not limited to natural resources. They noted that the need for new markets for export of Chinese commodities and business opportunities were part of the motivation for Chinese engagement in Africa. In line with this idea, Eisenman (2012) argues that China’s trade with African countries is deeply rooted in powerful market dynamics.

This follows a similar pattern with the capitalist industrialization of Europe in the 19th century which spurred the search for guaranteed markets and profitable investment outlets in Africa (Iweriebor, 2011). To this end, Antwi-Boateng (2017) concludes that both European colonialists and Chinese involvement in Africa were motivated by the desire to expand markets for their products which ultimately benefitted their respective economies.

Global influence and prestige. At the beginning of the 20th century European powers focused their interest on Africa and in the same way China at the dawn of the 21st century turned its attention to Africa (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). By the 20th century the fundamental goal of both British and French colonialism was to exploit Africa's resources for the interest of their countries (Fenwick, 2009). In the case of the European powers, Iweriebor (2011) argues that the effect of power rivalry and the desire for preeminence fueled Europeans' acquisition of territories around the world as well as in Africa. On the other hand, Antwi-Boateng (2017) argues that China seeks more influence in Africa in pursuance of its "peaceful rise policy" and its effort in the realization of a multi-polar world order.

Nevertheless, some scholars argue that China's involvement in Africa is a way to embolden its global influence (Mlambo, Kushamba, & Simawu, 2016). To this effect, Giry (2004) submits that China's efforts in Africa are a way of buying over African leaders to support and strengthen its soft power internationally. Some of the African countries that China has a good relationship with and have benefitted from China's investment provide support to China on the international stage as *quid pro quo*. And so, Mlambo et al. (2016) asserts that "African countries have individually and collectively offered support for China on an international platform" (p. 268).

This broad spectrum of motives cast China in the conceptual framework of neo-colonialism. In this sense, China shares in and is motivated by the same factors that orchestrated the 19th and 20th century's colonialism of Africa by European powers. But it should be pointed out that China is not involved in territorial acquisition as was the case with European powers. This is due to China's "Five Principles for Peaceful co-existence" as Corkin (2014) noted which include "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence" (cited in Antwi-Boateng, 2017, p. 183). China engages the use of soft power to "shun overt colonial strategies used by past European colonial powers" (Anti-Boateng, 2017, p. 184). Anti-Boateng (2017) summarizes the Chinese soft power engagement to include: a policy of a no civilizing mandate, a "non-interference policy", absence of political and administrative control, no direct development agenda, no settler policy and a respect for the African elite (p. 184). China's spheres of influence in Africa are not through a direct exertion of power and influence but through the same techniques that Europeans used such as assimilation and diffusion devoid of the use of hard power.

And so, China creates spheres of influence in Africa as a neo-colonialist agent in using soft power through the mechanism of assimilation and diffusion.

Neo-Colonialism as Assimilation and Diffusion

Haag (2011) argues that neo-colonial mechanisms are less direct and less visible. And because neo-colonialist methods are less direct and less visible it achieves its aim through the processes of assimilation and diffusion. For this reason, he submits that neo-colonialism is "more dangerous than colonialism since it implies power without the need for justification for the

master, and exploitation without protection for the country from it” (pp. 10-11). Haag (2011) further argues that neo-colonialism is the existence of ongoing influence of the former colonial powers. Thus, at the heart of this new effort is the pursuit of national power and influence (Jinadu, 2010). To this end, Antwi-Boateng (2017) argues that China has a neo-colonial agenda in Africa. He, then, concludes that “A serious assessment of China’s foreign policy in Africa shows the use of economic and diplomatic devices that promote the fundamental principles of neo-colonialism which is indirect influence over a sovereign state for the benefit of a major power” (p. 191).

According to Chidozie and Abiodun-Eniayekan (2015) the principal European colonial powers, namely, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Portugal have maintained their influence on Africa through continued neo-colonial ties, activities of various multinational and transnational firms, as other emerging economies such as China and India are now involved in the ‘new scramble’ for Africa’s resources. While the old scramble for Africa was centered on acquisition and demarcation of territory, the new scramble is focused on the continent’s huge natural resources (Hadland, 2012). For this reason, Jinadu (2010) argues that the terms ‘new’ and ‘scramble’ connote a continuity and contrast with the past and the present expression of the scramble for Africa. He further contends that the new scramble involves the transnationalization of capital, the diffusion and homogenization of the dominant ideas about culture, economic and political factors.

Essentially, assimilation and diffusion are processes of spreading and influencing one culture by another (Welch & Kunz, 2016). Park and Burgess (1924) defined assimilation as “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories,

sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups; and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life” (cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974, p. 359). Rambaut (1997) pointed out that assimilation among other things is ideological and is not promoted directly but only indirectly. This is the linkage between soft power and assimilation. Chinese soft power is ideological as it leverages indirect influence on other cultures such as Africa whether through establishment of Confucius Institutes in African countries, teaching of Chinese language Mandarin, training of African teachers and journalists etc. All these are ways and means China is assimilating Africans into their norms, values and cultures.

On the other hand, Börzel and Risse (2009) defined diffusion as “process through which ideas are spread across time and space” (p. 5). China through the use of soft power is spreading its ideas and values in Africa. And the effect of this could be seen over time because it is futuristic in its expectation. Börzel et al. (2009) noted that diffusion occurs through economic, political and cultural processes. And these ideas (economic, political and cultural) are more effective when they resonate with the social, political, economic, cultural and historical conditions of the receiving countries (p. 5). China employs these processes by identifying with African countries as a country that has suffered the effect of colonialism and as coming also from the developing world with similar conditions. They further listed three major logics of social action upon actors and their relations with social structures and institutions: 1) instrumental rationality, 2) normative rationality, and 3) persuasion (communicative) rationality. These ideas fit in into the three-pronged frameworks of studying China’s activities in Africa, namely, China as partner, as prototype and persuader (Gaglairdone et al., 2012). The instrumental rationality aspect links with the idea of China as a partner with African countries. Börzel et al. (2009)

pointed out that here the actor (China) uses positive incentives to court the friendship of the recipient (African countries) through loan, aid, etc. and that normative rational fits into the idea of China as prototype. Börzel et al. (2009) noted that the actor (China) promotes ideas through providing an authoritative model or what they called normative pressure. The persuasion (communicative) rationality – is similar to the idea of China as a persuader. They pointed out here that the actor (China) promotes ideas as legitimate or true through reason-giving.

Assimilation as Mechanism of Neo-Colonialism

Haag (2011) argues that the goal of colonialism and neo-colonialism is the same. While colonialism is about the maintenance of the former colonies in a dependent position, neo-colonialism, on the other hand, ensures dependence. Some studies in the literature indicate that China's presence in Africa shows dependence (Taylor, 2014; Agbebi et al.; 2017). The dependence of the weaker party on a more powerful and stronger party is a form of neo-colonialism. And so, Boyer (2001) argues that assimilation is the gradual process by which a person or group belonging to one culture adopts the practices of another, thereby becoming a member of that culture. In its original sense, assimilation policy tries to affirm the assumed superiority of French culture to those of its non-European colonies (Rodney, 1972).

Kanu (2019) noted that the policy of assimilation can take the form of forced or unforced assimilation. In the case of forced assimilation, Kanu (2019) argues that a person or group is compelled to take on the practices of another culture, such as by adopting that culture's language and religious traditions. And in the case of unforced assimilation a person takes on the practices of another culture but is not forcibly compelled to do so (p. 167). An example of forced assimilation is the French treatment of its colonies in Africa during 19th and 20th century

colonization. Thus, Idowu (1969) noted that the assimilation policy of the French in Senegal was a concession “motivated by the overpowering revolutionary slogan of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* and the logical reasoning that as rational beings the inhabitants of French overseas possessions, no matter their social status, were entitled to the same privileges as French citizens in the metropole” (p. 194). And this was ratified by a series of laws enacted by French government (Idowu, 1969, p. 195). Conversely, an example of unforced assimilation is the indirect influence that is seen in the era of neo-colonialism in Africa in the 20th century and beyond. The use of soft power by China to expand its influence in Africa (Antwi-Boateng, 2017; Zheng, 2010; Gil, 2008), and beyond could be classified as an example of unforced assimilation. In this regard, Breslin (2011) summarizes the notion of China’s soft power in this way: “soft power, understood as the latent power of attraction, proactive ‘national image promotion’, normative power promotion; and imagined power” (p. 8). He further argues that this attraction could come from outside as outsiders perceive a country’s values and system. Thus, he noted “soft power is in the eye of the beholder” (p. 9).

The logic behind the assimilation policy is the civilization mantra of the stronger party. The colonial powers (Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal) in their effort to colonize Africa touted the interest of the colonized as the *raison d’être* for coming into Africa. In that regard, France claimed that the “civilization” of African people requires the imposition of French values on African people (Fenwick, 2009; Antwi-Boateng, 2017). In the same way, in neo-colonialism China frames its presence in Africa as a win-win relationship (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). Thus, Antwi-Boateng (2017) argues that China has found a way to legitimize neo-colonialism through cooperation.

Bokamba (1984) argues that the French viewed assimilation policy as the best approach to erase the cultural and attitudinal differences that existed between the colonized and colonizers in order to develop a common culture the French way of life. And so, the *raison d'être* for assimilation is to facilitate the submission of the African people to French colonization – both culturally and politically (Bokamba, 1984, p. 8). To this end, Bokamba (1984) argues that the imposition of French language was an effective way to assimilate the inhabitants of its colonies to a French way of life in which language is the vehicle. Bokamba (1984) summarizes the effectiveness of language in assimilation policy in four different ways; (1) admission and promotion criteria, (2) learning strategies, (3) extension or application of knowledge, and (4) academic performance. However, in Africa China appears to apply the same methods in influencing its cultural values on Africa. China through the method of assimilation under the ideological banner of soft power is establishing Confucius Institutes across African countries, the teaching of Chinese language, and the provision of training for African teachers and journalists in Chinese values, norms and culture.

Education

Nkrumah (1965) noted that one of the neo-colonialists' means of control is the provision of civil servants in positions where they can dictate and influence policies (p. 1). To this end, Li et al., (2013) observed that China is “actively committed to African’s professional education” (p. 104). In line with this idea, King (2009) noted that beginning from 2000, China has taken as priority China-African education and training programs. And this makes China a major player in human resources cooperation with Africa (Li et al., 2013). Going further, they remarked that

“from 2000 to 2007, 20,000 students from 52 African countries studied in China, 60 percent of them are on Chinese scholarship” (p. 104).

According to Li (2006) the Ministry of Education in conjunction with local universities runs different courses for African teachers, engineers and professionals (p. 12). In addition, seminars, training courses that concentrate on the three fields of management capability, engineering skill and school administration are offered to Africans (Li, 2006, p. 12). And so, currently China is involved in the training of African professionals, exchanging ideas and experiences with African professionals as well as sending teachers to Africa. And a total of 238 Chinese teachers are in more than 30 African countries (Li, 2006, pp. 12-13). In the media sector, Madrid-Morales et al. (2017) have identified the training of editors, journalists and government information officers in China or locally as one of the typologies of China’s sphere of influence in the African media. In this regard, Grassi (2014) argues that the content of the exchange and training programs for African journalists provides strong proof that the goal is to challenge the discourse hegemony of Western media. This is because these media professionals are trained to imbibe Chinese media norms and values, and as such to replicate what they have learned and taught in the African media context. He further argues that while Western media harp on normative values of democratization and liberalization, China by contrast, focuses the training on instructing African media professionals in the Chinese path of development as well as making them critical toward the Western media. And so, between 2004 and 2011, 48 African countries have sent a total of 300 media managers and executives to the Chinese training programs organized by the Information the Office of State Council (Grassi, 2014, p. 6). In

addition, 30,000 short training and 18,000 scholarships are awarded to African journalists annually (p. 6). Based on this, China is influencing Africa with its norms and values.

Language and Cultural Exports

Gil (2008) argues that China as part of its effort to achieve its foreign policy goal through the use of soft power is currently promoting the learning of Chinese language throughout the world. By this means, he argues that China is creating a positive image of the Chinese language as well as drawing learners to its language. And so, he noted that the Ministry of Education's website indicates the strategic significance of popularizing the Chinese language and culture throughout the world. Thus, to capture the importance of language in Chinese influence in the world, Vuving (2009) categorizes the teaching of a country's language and promoting the study of a country's culture and society as tools of soft power. He argues that "what they can do is promote understanding, nurture positive images, and propagate myths in favor of the source country" (p. 13). Zhe (2012) noted that the number of people taking the Chinese Proficiency Test overseas has increased tremendously every year. And he observed that in 2007 130,000 people took the exam.

Thiong'o (1986) argues that language and indeed any language has a dual character, namely, as a means of communication and a carrier of culture. To this end, language is an effective tool of assimilation because it affects every aspect of human endeavor. It is used in instruction and commerce. For this reason, Bokamba (1984) views language as the most influential factor in the implantation of a culture. Thus, language becomes a process of cultural assimilation as it facilitates rapid power consolidation (Awoniyi, 1976).

Kurlantzick (2007) argues that “China’s cultural promotion is part of a broader effort at public diplomacy” (p. 61). Further, he noted that by fostering public opinion abroad, states can more effectively pursue their national interests (p. 61). And these tools include culture, arts, language and ethnicity. Li (2006) remarked that more than 40 African countries have signed cultural agreements with China. And so, Li (2009) argues that aware of the power of the French model of assimilation into French culture, China has mastered how to wield influence on Africans by means of cultural diffusion. To effect cultural diffusion, Li et al. (2013) noted the establishment of 21 Confucius Institutes (CIs) and four Confucius Classrooms (CCs) in 17 African countries. They further argue that the Confucius Institutes Curricula contain more than language learning as the institutes showcase traditional Chinese festivals, as well as exhibitions, offering of courses and public talks in Africa. In line with this, Pan (2013) and Zhe (2001) submit that the CI projects as part of Chinese soft power should be seen as a type of cultural diplomacy to facilitate economic connection, cultural dialogue, and political trust between China and the rest of the world.

According to Kurlantzick (2007) part of this new public diplomacy is the effort to increase cultural exchanges with the developing world. To this end, to effectively guarantee cultural diffusion in Africa, Lu (2010) argues that Chinese government has spent \$4 million in reaching out to 7170 students, since the establishment of the first Confucius Institute in Africa in 2005 up to 2010. Li et al., (2013) conclude that all these efforts are channeled to creating positive Chinese experiences as well as to allay the fear of Chinese annexation of Africa (p. 104). Interestingly, Kurlantzick (2007) included Chinese expansion of its international reach in the

media as part of cultural tools of influence. And the media serve as a profound mechanism of influence of China in Africa.

Diffusion as Mechanism of Neo-Colonialism

According to Welch and Kunz (2016), changes that occur in a culture can be explained by diffusion. For this reason, much of the literature on diffusion argues that diffusion is a social process through which ideas, technology, practices, and parts of the normative structure are spread from one group of people to another (Gray, 1973; Rogers, 1995; Welch et al., 1973). And so, this interaction takes place in the processes of trade, travel, and conquest (Rogers & Kinkaid, 1981; Fliegel, 1993). To this end, diffusion involves transmission of new ideas in a social system over time (Roger, 1995). And these new ideas could be cultural traits, economic and social. Similarly, Kieh (2012) argues that neo-colonialism functions through various means –cultural, economic and social (p. 167).

Halperin (2016) argues that neo-colonialism is an indirect form of control. It creates a continuous state of dependence of former colonies on foreign countries. The existing dependence between the two parties creates a medium of interaction. The said interaction brings about influence in culture, ideas, customs, etc. Welch et al. (2016) view culture as the defining characteristic of a civilization. And it develops over time. To this end, Welch et al. (2016) argue that with travel and communication easily available and constant the influence of diffusion can take place more readily in this day and age. The interaction in trade, communication and investment between China and Africa could have its cultural change effect through the process of diffusion.

Consequently, the process of diffusion of the sphere of influence of China through soft power is exercised in the areas of: Aid regime and infrastructural investment and the media in Africa. A cursory look at these factors will illustrate this point.

Aid Regime and Infrastructural Investment

According to Agbebi and Virtanen (2017) China has become a crucial aid partner in the continent. This is on the premise that “China’s development assistance to Africa is increasing” (p. 14). And so, Brautigam (1998) argues that China views African development assistance as part of its strategy. For this reason, Odinye (2016) noted that China has earned legitimacy by distinguishing itself in many ways from the European Union and United States. He further noted that China does so by promoting investment in Africa through concessional loan, commercial loans, and regular and preferential export buyer’s credits. And so, from 2009-2012, China provided \$10 billion in financing to African countries by way of ‘concessional loans’ (Odinye, 2016, p.139). In addition, China’s total financial aid to Africa reached US \$73 billion from 2000 to 2011 (Strange, Parks, Tierney, & Dreher, 2015). And more, by 2006 China’s FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) in Africa reached \$1 billion and this made China the highest lender to Africa (French, 2006; Zafar, 2006). However, Taylor (2009) argues that China in distributing aid in Africa prefers countries that are rich in resources, while neglecting the potential political repercussions of this action.

Another strategy for China’s influence in Africa is through infrastructural investment and development. Zhang, Wasserman and Mano (2016) argue that the scale of China’s presence in Africa was increasingly seen in the number of bridges, dams, roads, railroads, stadiums, ports, oil infrastructure. They noted that China in 2011 was Africa’s largest trading partner with the

bilateral trade volume surging from \$10 billion in 2000 to 200 billion. Seeing the possible impact of China's infrastructure investment in Africa, Agbebi et al. (2017) argue that China's investment in Africa will not only shore up the lack of infrastructural development but also could potentially generate human capital development, as well as opportunities for skill acquisition through technology transfer.

In this regard, Kurlantzick (2007) argues that soft power has changed and it has a broader scope in the Chinese context than Nye did. To this end, he noted that "soft power means anything outside of the military and security realm, including not only popular culture and public diplomacy but also more coercive economic and diplomatic levers like aid and investment and participation in multilateral organization" (p. 6). Grimm (2015) summatively argues that in all that China does in Africa, there is Chinese political thinking writ large and not the much touted equal partners sharing of ideas. And so, it does not reflect genuine concern for African affairs.

Media

China views the media as being critical in extending its influence on Africa. This is because the media are seen to be central in China's discursive and soft power (Jirik, 2016; Madrid-Morales & Wasserman, 2017). For this reason, Madrid-Morales et al. (2017) argue alongside other African scholars that China's forays into Africa at the turn of the century view the media and telecommunication industries as critical in extending its political and economic influence (Alden, Large & Oliver, 2008).

Thus, Yudico (2017) noted that the Chinese government has been making huge investments in telecommunications infrastructure across Africa. Following *Aid Data* that tracks Chinese development finance projects between 2000 and 2013 in Africa, the data show that of

the \$1.7 billion given to various African countries in investment, the communication sector ranks the fifth sector in China's investment in Africa (Yudico, 2017, p. 1). And so, Madrid-Morales et al. (2017) argue that China's material capabilities (capital, know-how and technology) as well as the Chinese authorities' determination of the invaluable media role in Sino-African relations accelerated China's inroads into the information and telecommunication sectors in Africa. And so, the need for Chinese "media companies to widen their market share overseas and the desire of Chinese leaders to increase the country's discursive power through the expansion of its leading media" explain Chinese media dealings in Africa (Madrid-Morales, 2016, p. 3).

Nevertheless, the overarching template for the Sino-African media interplay was developed in the 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (Madrid-Morales, 2016). Interestingly, Chun (2015) observed that the year 2006 was officially named as China's 'Africa year' which saw the announcement of China's African Policy whitepaper as well as the 3rd FOCAC summit in November 2006. Realizing the pivotal role of the media in the Sino-Africa collaboration, the FOCAC summit paper reads

Recognizing that increased contacts between their respective news media contribute to comprehensive and objective news coverage of the other side, the two sides encouraged their respective news media to play a positive role in enhancing mutual understanding and friendship. (Clause 5.8.1 2006)

Corollary to this media cooperation, China has established many media outlets in Africa such as CCTV (China's Central Television), Xinhua News Agency, an FM radio station, the *China Daily* English language newspaper, Chinafrica Magazine, CGTV (China Global Television Network and StarTimes) (Chen, 2001; Wang, 2001; Nelson, 2013; Grassi, 2014; Yanqiu, 2014;

Gagliardone & Pál, 2006; Madrid-Morales et al., 2017; Wasserman & Madrid-Morales, 2018). Nelson (2013) precisely remarked that by 2012 the Xinhua News Agency has opened 20 bureaus on the continent, launched a China African news service, and partnered with Safaricom to launch a mobile newspaper in Kenya (p. 26). She further argues that “CCTV’s African activities are tightly woven into a well-publicized, sweeping plan to consolidate China’s influence over African natural resources and economic policies” (p. 26). China does not stop at only establishing media outlets in Africa; China is also involved in acquisition of publishing groups and independent media in Africa (Madrid-Morales, et al., 2017).

Thus, to articulate and measure Chinese ‘spheres of influence’ in the African media, Madrid-Morales et al. (2017) identify a four-item typology of China’s media activities in Africa. And they are:

content production refers to the establishment of Chinese media content to produce content specific for African audiences, from news and current affairs to entertainment; (2) **content distribution** includes agreements with local companies to buy/distribute Chinese content and also the establishment of platforms (Satellite, Cable, Digital TV, online) to circulate Chinese content; (3) **infrastructure development** in the telecommunication sectors in the form of aid, loans or Competitive tenders; (4) **direct investment** in African media companies. (p. 4)

Precisely, through these typologies China is establishing ‘spheres of influence’ in African media. Based on this development, some African media scholars in the literature have critical views of Chinese involvement in the African media landscape. Banda (2009) argues that the Chinese role in the African media could potentially introduce normative values that might be in contrast with

the existing values of freedom and independence of the press in Africa. Ngomba (2012) contends that the authoritarian model of State media control evident in China may impede the dominant Western ‘watchdog’ model in Africa. Similarly, scholars fear that the freedom of the press in Western democracies (Hassid, 2008), and the difference in editorial methods (Zhang & Matingwina, 2016) by which the media in Western democracies operate may be endangered by Chinese influence in the African media milieu.

In summary, soft power as a vehicle of influence is not direct as in the case of colonialism of the 19th and 20th century of Africa. In the case of colonialism, the colonial powers’ influence on Africa was direct and obtrusive. Mapuva and Chari (2010) noted that during the colonial era there was explicit exploitation of Africa’s untapped natural resources as well as deliberate parceling out of parts of Africa among the European powers. However, in the case of colonial influence on the African media, Uche (1991) argues “Colonial influence has continued to be quite domineering in the 30 years of independence of African nations from the former colonial chieftains” (p. 3). And so, he further submits that the continuous reliance on foreign media imports for information and entertainment has drastically affected the cultures of the various African countries by the influences of these external cultures. Thus, summarizing the influences of the former colonial powers on Africa, Uche (1991) noted:

The consequences of the African experience in foreign domination, servitude, exploitation and the diffusion of various foreign dominant cultural values have culminated in such contemporary international issues as African indebtedness to the rich and industrialized nations of the west. (p. 3).

Conversely, in neo-colonialism, the influence of the colonial powers is there, but in a less direct and less visible way (Haag, 2011). Because of its unobtrusive nature, Nkrumah (1965) argues that neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism as it presupposes power without responsibility. Thus, Kieh (2012) argues that “Neo-colonialism creates the nexus between the dynamics of external domination and the formal political independence of the subjugated peripheral states” (p. 167).

At the core of its framework, neo-colonialism is based on imbalance in the relationship of the dominant and weak party. This imbalance is created by power differentiation between the two parties. Kieh (2012) argues that neo-colonialism operates through various ways of interactions between the dominant and the dominated states – cultural, economic, political, and social. To this end, the superior power often gives economic and other supports to the dominated states. And this is where China fits in, in the logic of neo-colonialism in Africa. Thus, as to China as neo-colonialist in Africa, Antwi-Boateng, (2017) pointed out that China uses soft power to bring to bear its influence on Africa. In this case, China’s influence is not direct and less visible as it uses processes of assimilation and diffusion. Diffusion and assimilation are processes of interpenetration and fusion of a culture into a new one. Through the processes of assimilation and diffusion China is implanting its normative values in Africa.

And so, as the domain of this research is on the normative influence African media, China’s involvement in the African media is given due consideration. Thus, China’s involvement in the African media is multifaceted as it has many media outlets in Africa, acquisition of African media companies, the training of media professionals as well as offering scholarships to Africans to study journalism in China. What potential effects could this involvement have in the

area of normative influence in the African media? Perhaps, the two dimensional involvement of China in the African media, namely, Chinese ownership of media outlets in Africa and investment in the training of African professionals in African-owned media could portend differing influences. The ownership of media outlets in Africa could potentially be a somewhat direct influence in terms of on assimilation process, while the training of African media professionals in African-owned media and distribution of contents could potentially be less direct through the process of diffusion.

Nonetheless, many African scholars in their research have found no significant effect of Chinese influence regarding its values on the African media yet (Gade et al., 2017; Grassi, 2014; Joffe, van Staden, & Wu, 2014; Madrid-Morales et al., 2017; Wasserman, 2016; Wasserman et al., 2018). In line with this, Grassi (2014) argues that to date there is no evidence that Chinese media have tried to influence the freedom of expression or freedom of the press in their respective host countries of Africa. But he quickly added that the reason for this could be that “China’s media make every effort to allay suspicions that they serve to propagate China’s ideology or its development model” (p. 7).

Although there is no significant influence of Chinese values on African media so far, Grassi (2014) concludes that “the presence of Chinese media in Africa does indirectly influence the media landscape in various ways” (p. 7). Evidently, Grassi’s (2014) conclusion cannot be dismissed as China views the media as an integral part of its discursive power, and more, an “instrument of China’s soft power in the context of going out project” (Jirik, 2016, p. 3548). The chapter lays out the various influences of Europe and China in Africa and the several processes

that helped in shaping these influences. The following chapter focuses on the channel through which these influences were passed-on in Africa in the role of institutions.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTION

Along with chapter 2 that focuses on the external influences on Africa, namely, colonialism (Western) and neo-colonialism that China epitomizes, the present chapter 3 dwells on the role of institutions in general, the role of institutions in building professions and the African media institutions as the epicenter of these external influences. The importance of this chapter is that it shows the linkage between institutions and professions. Following Shoemaker et al. on the hierarchy of influences (1996), they pointed out among other things the unique position media institutions occupy in their analysis. The ideological influence takes place primarily at the institutional level. This is because “all the processes taking place at lower levels are considered to be working toward an ideological related pattern of messages and on behalf of higher power centers in society” (Shoemaker et al., p. 223). The ideological influences that take place at the institutional level of the media shape the profession of journalism. Institutions provide the environment that grows professions while professions in turn provide stability to institution through the specialized knowledge they offer. March and Olsen (2011) point out that institutions are collections of structures, rules, and standard operating procedures. They further noted that institutions empower and constrain actors differently and make them more or less capable of acting following prescriptive rules of appropriateness. The chapter also highlights the role of the media institutions in a democracy, thus, bridging the gap between praxis and norms of the media in Africa. This is so because it shows the proper function of the media in a society as well as denoting the constraints of the African media. In this way, it unfolds the African media as well as the operational framework.

Institution and Its Role

According to Aron (2002) the definition of institution has been problematic as there are divergent views on this issue. However, he noted that recently the definition of the term has been dominated by North's framework especially in two of his works (North, 1997; 1990). To this end, North (1991) defines institutions as "humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction" (p. 97). In his view institutions consist of informal constraints "sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct" (p. 97), while formal rules include "constitutions, laws property rights" (p. 97). And so, Aron (2002) defines institution as the 'rules of the game' (p. 1). And he further argues that the rules of the game include both the formal and informal constraints on political, economic and social activities (p. 1). Similarly, Osman, Alexiou and Tsaliki (2011) argue that institutions not only define the 'rules of the game' but also the conditions that economic agents operate in within an economy. And so, they hold view of the influence of institutions as it affects development. Following North's framework, Boettke and Coyne (2009) argue that institutions are the formal and informal rules governing human behavior (p. 139). They gave examples of formal rules to include:

codified legal and political structures, as well as written rules such as constitutions. Written contracts, which reduce risks and uncertainty, are yet another example of a formal institution. A final example would be codified standards or rules that are known to all members of a group or industry. These standards may be established by members of the group or by some external authority. In either case, the rules are formally written and binding to all members of the group. (p. 139)

Nevertheless, example of informal rules includes “culture, norms, conventions, and mores not backed by formal law, but by social custom” (Boettke & Coyne, 2009, p. 139). According to them other examples of informal institutions are organizational structures, namely, associations, families, and they are emergent in nature (pp. 139-140). It should be noted as Boettke et al. (2009) observed that informal rules when they are systematized become formal law.

Acemogolu and Robinson (2008) argue that institutions in general are the fundamental cause of economic growth and developmental differences across countries. For this reason, they argue that institutions can differ between societies as a result of methods of collective decision-making (democracy versus dictatorship), or because of economic institutions (security of property rights, entry barriers, the set of contracts available to businessmen). Furthermore, they noted that differences may occur as a given set of formal institutions function differently in two societies that are democratic along political power distribution.

Furthermore, North (1991) argues that the essence of institutions following history is to create order and reduce uncertainty. In this sense, human actions are not consistent but vary according to circumstances and events. And so, to create a standard that would guide human actions institutions were devised. For this reason, North (1991) argues that institutions evolve gradually and they form the bridge between the past and the present and with the future. And so, institutions are important in any given society as they guide the progress and development of the society. However, they are subject to change and development. Williamson (2000) in his hierarchy of institutions and institutional analysis noted that the more permanent institutions are the slower the rate of change and vice versa. But essentially, permanent institutions facilitate

economic, social and political institutions (Boettke & Coyne, 2009), as they create incentives for certain courses of action.

Thus, Rodrick and Subramanian (2003) argue that the overall functions of institutions should include growth sustainability, building resilience to shocks as well as facilitating an acceptable collective sharing in response to such shocks (p. 32). To this end, they enumerated three types of functions or roles of institutions, namely, market regulation, market stabilization and market legitimization. And so, they argue that

Market regulating...deals with externalities, economics of scale, and imperfect information. Examples include regulatory agencies in telecommunications, transport, and financial services. Market stabilizing... ensures low inflation, minimize macroeconomic volatility, and avert financial crises. Examples include central banks, exchange rate regimes, and budgetary and fiscal rules. Market legitimizing... provides social protection and insurance, involve redistribution, and manage conflict. Examples include pension systems, unemployment insurance schemes, and other social funds. (p. 32).

The issue here is that institutions in general provide the capacity to regulate the market, stabilize the markets as well as legitimize the market. This is part of the broad spectrum of the functions of institutions in human endeavors.

Nevertheless, the role of institutions in regulating, stabilizing, as well as legitimizing market points to another crucial role of institutions in the society. Thus, Muzio, David and Suddaby (2013) argue that there is implicit but intimate association between institution and profession in key works in sociology. To this end, Evetts (2012) argues that the role of institutions such as nation-state has always been critical in theorizing about professions. He

further argues that the role of the nation-state is paramount because the state grants legitimacy by licensing professional activity, setting standards of practice and regulation, acting as guarantor of professional education as well as paying for services provided by professional experts and practitioners (pp. 1-2). And so, the interaction between nation-state and professional practitioners demand recognition and acceptability of other states licensing, education and training requirements (Evetts, 2012).

The Role of Institutions in Building Professions

Mark and Morgan (2000) argue that institutions play an increasingly important role in the development of professions. Thus, various literatures on the sociology of profession recognize the role of institution or rather the interaction between institutions and professions (Bresen, 2013; Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, 2013; Suddaby & Viale, 2011). In its earliest development, Johnson (1972) argues that professionalism is the institutionalized way of resolving power differentiation between consumer and producer interchange. On another note, Burrage and Torstendahl (1990) argue that professional projects are controlled by the wider institutionalized projects put forth by various stakeholders such as the nation-state, higher education bodies as well as corporate entities. It is this interaction between professional and institutionalized projects that made Muzio et al. (2013) argue that “professionalization is a negotiated settlement which emerges from the interactions between different actors pursuing their own institutionalization projects (e.g., nation building or the development of public university system). It is in line with the idea of collaborative framework between institutions and professions that Gade, Nduka and Dastgeer (2017) proposed a model of an institutional infrastructure for the professionalization of African journalism. They argue that institutions are crucial both in the development of professions as

well as in strengthening professions in order to perform to their optimal expectations in the society. Thus, Suddaby et al. (2011) argue that “professional projects carry with them projects of institutionalization” (p. 423). In this regard, Abbott (1988) argues that professions exist in a system and the context is provided by institutions such as states, corporate bodies and the civil society.

And so, Larson (2013) argues that the institutional approach to professions emphasizes the functional relations of professions with its central social needs and values. She further noted that the functional importance of professions explains the historical continuity with the oldest among them, namely, medicine and law. However, institutions and professions may develop simultaneously. Therefore, Suddaby et al. (2011) argue that projects of professionalization and institutionalization occur simultaneously. They further argue that developments in professional projects will be felt through the field as they affect, modify and disrupt surrounding institutions. To this end, McCann (2013) shows how professionalization project of British paramedics intersects with wider institutional dynamics within the National Health Service (cited in Muzio et al., 2013). And so, Muzio et al. (2013) conclude that professionalization is an aspect of broader category of institutionalization as it constitutes one of the several ways to give order, structure, and meaning to a particular area of social and economic life. Hence, Neal and Morgan (2000) argue that professional institutions instill professional conduct among their members through regulations, and training, as well as through the way institutions sustain their public profiles of members’ activities and discourse in the everyday pursuit of their work.

Furthermore, Bresen (2013) and Muzio et al. (2013) respectively view professionals as institutional agents as they are not only constrained by the institutional context in which they act

but also shape and change institutions through cultural- cognitive, normative and regulatory component they bring forth. Thus, in summarizing the role of institutions in guiding and developing professions, Hanlon (1999) argues that “the state is engaged in trying to redefine professionalism so that it becomes more commercially aware, budget focused, managerial, entrepreneurial and so forth” (p. 121). Therefore, institutions are important in the development of professions as they provide a broader context for their existence as well as legitimizing and guiding them.

Professionalism: Values and Ideology

Neal et al., (2000) argue that defining ‘professions’ and ‘professionalization’ have been the concern of sociologists. For them professionalization is used to describe how occupations become recognized as ‘professions’ and how they go about consolidating this status and improving their services (p. 9). And so, Freidson (1988) argues that a “profession is a group of people who perform a set of activities which provide them with the major source of their subsistence-activities which are called “work” rather than “leisure” and “vocation” rather than “avocation” (p. 71). Abbot (1988) contends that professions are special groups that use abstract knowledge to solve particular cases. For Abbott the applicability of abstract knowledge to particular cases is what really sets professions apart from other occupations. He argues that

Any occupation can obtain licensure (e.g., beauticians) or develop an ethics code (e.g., real estate). But only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems – as medicine has recently seized alcoholism, mental illness, hyperactivity in children, obesity and numerous other things. (p. 9)

The key elements of an occupation becoming a profession in the view of Abbott (1988) are the level of a knowledge system and the degree of abstraction. Thus, he argues that these two elements knowledge system and degree of abstraction determine the core of competition between professions. The more abstract the knowledge is the more the degree of profession as it creates an exclusive area of competence. In line with this idea, Larson (2013) argues that the two elements of a body of abstract knowledge and practical application that create a market evolve independently of each other. These two elements, however, in her view are determined by the economic, social development and the dominant ideological culture of the time.

However, tracing the history of a profession from occupation to its current professional status scholars acknowledge the typical processes through which established professions evolved. The classical works of Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) examined the history of 22 professions in United Kingdom and established the socio-historical context of professions; Caplow (1954) amplified the socio-historical context of profession begun by Carr-Saunders et al. (1933) and Wilensky (1964) examined eighteen occupations in the USA and established their evolvement to the status of professions. Interestingly, Caplow (1954) and Wilensky (1964) each had five-point processes of how occupations become professions. For Caplow (1954) the processes are: 1) the establishment of a professional association, 2) a change in the name of the occupation, 3) the development of a code of ethics, 4) prolonged agitation to obtain the support of public power, 5) the concurrent development of training facilities (pp. 139-140). Wilensky (1964) noted the following processes: 1) the occupation became full time, 2) once the occupation was full-time, the question of training soon arose, 3) after prescribed training then come the formation of professional associations, 4) persistent political agitation for protection by law for

the occupation in question, 5) adoption of formal codes of ethics (pp. 142-146). On another note, Huges (1960) argues for the importance of licensing and a mandate in the development of a profession.

But there seems to be a consensus among scholars that abstract knowledge, processes of training, formation of a professional association, licensing and adoption of codes of ethics are prerequisite for the status and development of professions (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1988; Larson, 2013; Neal et al., 2000). The abstract knowledge that professionals possess allow professions to render special services to the society. And so, Freidson (1988) and Howard and Marina (2005) argue that a service orientation is crucial for professions.

The service orientation of professions is based on the value system and ideology of each of the professions. Evetts (2003) argues that the “value system of professionalism is guardedly optimistic about the positive contributions of the concept to a normative social order, professionalism as ideology focuses more negatively on professionalism as a hegemonic belief system and mechanism of social control for ‘professional’ workers” (p. 399). Professional workers employ the value system in their relations with clients, their occupational identities as well as their work practices (Evetts, 2003).

Evetts (2003) submits that most analyses of professionalism as a normative value system have been at macro and meso levels of analysis. She argues that the meaning and functions of professionalism are for the sake of the stability and civility of social systems. Furthermore, analyzing the different ways professions function both for the good of the community and the stability of and freedom from governmental bureaucracies, she noted that professions utilize their collegial organization and shared identity towards the shared normative end.

Thus, both at the macro and meso levels of analyses the common identity and experiences of individual practitioners as well as shared ways of perceiving problems and possible solutions are achieved through professional socialization. Hence, Evetts (2003) argues

This shared professional identity is associated with a sense of common experiences, understandings and expertise, shared ways of perceiving problems and their possible solutions. This common identity is produced and reproduced through occupational and professional socialization by means of shared and common educational backgrounds, professional trainings and vocational experiences, and by membership of professional associations (local, regional, national and international) and societies where practitioners develop and maintain a shared work culture. (p. 401).

In these ways the normative value system of professionalism in work, how to behave, respond and advise are attained in work places and in individual practitioners (Evetts, 2003).

On the other hand, a professional ideological system is viewed from the prism of power, privilege and self-interested monopolies (Evetts, 2003, p. 401). To this end, Evetts (2003) further argues that the 1970s and 1980s sociological analysis of professions was overtaken by different forms of professionalism as ‘ideology theorizing’, and prominent among them was the ‘professional project’ (p. 401). Although the whole idea of ‘professional project’ was developed by Larson (1977), Evetts compared it with Abbott’s (1988) notion of professional project. In her views, while Larson (1977) sees a professional project as a development where a particular occupational group seeks ownership and control in the market for its service, status and higher economic position within the society, Abbott (1988) was concerned with the way an occupation creates hegemony through competition and the necessary cultural as well as other work to own

the legitimacy of practice (pp. 401-402). Furthermore, Evetts (2003) argues that another view of professional ideology is the notion that professions are powerful occupational groups who not only have a monopoly of market but also control and dominate other occupations in the field as well as negotiate and bargain with the state for the interests of their members (p. 402).

Perhaps the reason why the African continent has not had well developed professionalism is the existence of weak institutions. The interplay between professions and institutions is vital in the development of professions. Gade et al. (2017) argue that societies create institutions to meet the needs of social organization. They further argue that “Institutions serve valuable social purposes, defining the explicit and implicit rules of society through structures that govern individual and organizational behaviors” (p. 10). But in the case of Africa, Ndulo (1988) argues that the continent's past history rooted in colonialism bequeathed the independent African states underdeveloped human resources, political fragility and insecurity that is rooted in poorly structured institutions. To this end, Ndulo (1988) poignantly submitted that “African's problems are to a large extent rooted in the past” (p. 72).

And so, the resultant effect of this is that as African countries gained independence they were faced with formidable constraints to development (Ndulo, 1988). Thus, Nwabueze (1989) argues that colonial rule ceded to independent African states undemocratic governments and bureaucracies that accentuate hierarchy, compliance and discipline while neglecting other important factors such as public accountability, responsiveness and participation. On account of this, Ndulo (1988) enumerated the consequences of this colonial heritage to include among others “weak institutions of both state and civil society with few countervailing forces to the executive branch of authority, unaccountable bureaucracies and widespread corruption” (p. 78).

And so, as various professions interact with institutions that provide context for their existence, the characteristics of institutions are important as they shape and form the normative values and professional ideology of the various professions.

Institutional Characteristics

Acemoglu et al. (2000) noted three types of institutions 1) economic institutions, (2) political power, (3) political institutions. The understanding of both characteristics of institutions will be of great help in the overarching shaping of the research.

First, economic institutions are said to matter for economic growth as they inform the overall motivation of key economic actors in the society (Acemoglu et al., 2008). For this reason, they are critical to general economic development and progress. Thus, Ogilvie (2007) argues that economic institutions exist to take care of economic needs of the society. She argues further that economic institution helps to solve certain problems that inhibit people from attaining great feat in production and consumption. And so, for her every economic problem that arises has an identical economic institution that exists to solve that problem. Ogilvie (2007) is not alone in the understanding of economic institution in this way as Acemoglu et al. (2008) argue that economic institutions influence investments both in the human capital, technology and the general organization of production. In line with this notion of influence of economic institutions, Bowles (1998) noted that they influence the development of values, tastes and personalities. Because of the essentiality of economic institutions, Acemoglu et al. (2008) further noted that they determine not only overall potential growth of the economy but also the allocation of resources in the society. For this reason, they conclude that economic institutions are the “collective choices of the society” (p. 6).

Second, political power according to Acemoglu et al. (2008) is the determinant factor of the choice of economic institutions. What this means is that those that have more political power are in a better position to decide the economic institutions in the society. They also argue that political power in society is produced by growth within the society. And so, it is not exogenous. For this reason, they distinguished between two parts of political power, namely, *de jure* and *de facto* political power (p. 6). Thus, *de jure* political power is the power that comes from the political institutions in the society. While *de facto* political power has to do with the ability of a group to solve its collective action problem as well as the economic resources available to them (Acemoglu et al, 2008). What this means is that political power is the empowerment of a group that has it over the others that do not have it.

Third, political institutions shape both the limitations and the motivations of key actors in the political sphere (Acemoglu et al., 2008). In this sense, Moe (1990) argues that political institutions help to address collective-action problems as well as serving as weapons of coercion and redistribution. Thus, he further noted that political institutions are the “structural means by which political winners pursue their own interests, often at the great expense of political losers” (p. 213). The form of government in a society is an example of a political institution (e.g., democracy versus dictatorship, or autocracy, and the degree of limitations on politicians and political elites (Moe, 1990).

These institutional characteristics play a vital role in informing and shaping the development of media institution as well as the journalism profession. This is because the economic structure and the political development of a society impact on the media institutions so also the media profession. They provide the raw material for the media within the social context.

Tumber et al., (2005) argue that journalism fulfils the essential need of humans to be informed in order to participate in the social and political process (p. 63). And so, journalism is at the centre of public life and political debate (McNair, 2005).

African Institutions in general. Acemoglu et al. (2008) made a case for significant correlation between institutions and economic performance although other variables such as social, geographic, cultural and economic fundamentals may intervene in the general outcome. Nevertheless, in their treatment of the impact of exogenous sources of institutions they noted that in Africa compared with the world in general European colonization imposed very different institutions and social power structures (p. 4). But in the case of Africa, the European powers set up “extractive states” (Acemoglu et al., 2008). To this end, the institutions set up by the European powers “did not introduce much protection for private property, nor did they provide checks and balances against government” (Acemoglu et al., 2008, p. 4). In essence, the intent of the European powers in the African colonies was solely the “extraction of resources” (Acemoglu et al., 2008, p. 4). And so, Acemoglu et al. (2008) argue that the determinant factor of where the Europeans would establish extractive institutions or institutions that protect private property is whether they would stay in large numbers. Thus, they noted

In colonies where Europeans settled, the institutions were being developed for their own future benefits. In colonies where the Europeans did not settle, their objective was to set up a highly centralized state apparatus, and other associated institutions, to oppress the native population and facilitate the extraction of resources in the short run. (p. 4)

In this sense, Africa became a victim in the choice of the establishment of institutions. Where the mortality rate is not favorable due to the prevalence of malaria and yellow fever the European

powers could not settle there in large number as in the case of many African countries. And this necessitated the establishment of quick to yield institutions rather than the development of institutions for future benefits (Acemoglu et al., 2008). And so, Africa inherited weak institutions that could not provide the catalyst for development.

Aron (2002) argues that weak institutions refers to the absence of useful formal or informal rules, or rules that have not developed to their optimal level, or rules that are poorly enforced. To this end, she recognizes the importance of enforcing the rules to achieve their purpose. Hence, she noted that useful rules may exist on paper but may not be enforced as a result of the costs of monitoring and enforcing them are too exorbitant, nor when the state does not respect its own rules.

Furthermore, Shirley (2005) argues that the reasons for the underdeveloped institutions include colonial heritage, political conflict and beliefs and norms. She noted that countries that have inherited poor institutions from their colonial masters will find it difficult to develop their institutions. On the one hand, in countries that have abundant resources the colonial powers will create institutions that will enable the exploitation of these natural resources for their own benefit. In addition, she noted the role of political conflicts within a society that prevent the building of strong institutions as well as beliefs and norms that do not encourage markets and engender mistrust.

Thus, the above points mentioned by Shirley (2005) regarding the effects of exogenous sources of institutions as well as the inherent pitfalls of the colonial inherited institutions find ample expression in the African media institutions. This is not to say that all the problems of the African media institution are limited to its colonial heritage. However, Cook (2005) pointed out

that institutions are open to development, though such a development happens through a gradual process.

African News Media Institution

Trader (1989) argues that if one examines the African media (newspapers) to learn how embedded they are in African values, traditions and norm; one would find out that they are foreign bodies in the cultural scene of Africa. Thus, Nyamnjoh (2005) argues that in these foreign media paradigms in Africa, the African world-views and cultural values are excluded. This is because of their ideology as well as their interest in profits. To this end, there are in Africa “media whose professional values are not in tune with the expectations of those they purport to serve” (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 3). And this is the crisis of values and norms in the African media landscape.

Broadly speaking, Cook (2005) argues that the news media should not be seen as a set of diverse organizations or a group of individual institutions but rather collectively as a single social institution. And so, he defines institution from the sociological point of view as “the site of systematized principles of action enduring across time and governing a central area of social life” (p. 66). In this regard, institutions as a governing domain of social life are susceptible to influences. And so, Cook (2005) further argues that “institutions are the current result of long-standing and ongoing conflict and domination” (p. 66). There is no place this point is illustrated more than in the African news media institution. The African media institution is in conflict with the dominant African culture that should provide the basis for its praxis and the influence of Western and Chinese media paradigms. For this reason, the African media institution is dominated by these foreign influences.

The influence of these external forces in African media is partly because of the economic situation of Africa. Rønning (2005) argues that the weak economic situation of Africa results in dependence on foreign and international donors. The dependence on external donors often makes the African media neither to report local news stories nor to give sufficient time for local news as they draw their sources from big international news operations (Rønning, 2005). Rønning (2005) further argues that in line with this are the small potential markets served by media in Africa as newspapers and television cater mainly to an urban and middle class audience while the majority of people live in rural areas. He also noted that the African media suffer as a result of lack of fully developed modern production and editorial technology as most printing presses produce poor quality material. He, therefore, submits that “The multifaceted economic woes of the African press still undermine the development of independent and professional journalistic media” (p. 167).

On another note, Karikari (2009) argues that the mass media in Africa are a product of colonialism. And it mirrors the political development and histories of the continent. For this reason, Asante, Norman, Tzelgov and Lindberg (2013) and Karikari (2009) noted that there are four main sources of the origins of the media in Africa, namely, the colonial state; the European settler colonialists; the Christian missionary institutions and the early African elite. The four sources mentioned, however, depict an avalanche of influences that came primarily from the Western powers in 19th and 20th century African colonialism. And even the African elites who were part of the source of the media in Africa “were Europeanized...to that extent de-Africanized, as a consequence of colonial education and the general atmosphere of colonial life” (Rodney, 1972, p. 249). Furthermore, Rodney (1972) argues that Europeans applied their

curricula without reference to African conditions. Thus, the African elites were products of colonialism in effect. Pointing to the external influence in the African media institutions, Asante et al. (2013) observe that in English speaking West African countries the newspaper was introduced in the early 1800's beginning with the *Royal Gazette* in Sierra Leone in 1801 and the *Liberia Herald* in 1826. In the same way broadcasting media were inherited from the colonial administrators as well.

Thus, during the colonial era the media in Africa were used for “imperial political and ideological control, or as direct propaganda tools” (Asante et al., 2013, p. 6). And so, Karikari (2007) argues that the African media are products of the societies that have formed and shaped them as well as direct political and ideological instruments of the colonial state. Hence, the African media operate within the framework of a western media system.

Nevertheless, the media landscape in Africa is made more complex by the presence of China. This is because China operates a media system that is different from the western paradigm that is operative in Africa. And so, Hachten (1992) argues that the Developmental model of China operates supports authority. In it the freedom of the press can be restricted based on the development needs of the society. The Chinese political system that informs its media values and norms is in contrast with the values and norms already in existence in the African media. The end result of this is a media at a crossroads in Africa which is neither African, western nor Chinese but a concatenation of the influences from China to the West.

Furthermore, at the time of independence the new national governments in Africa inherited the media system. And the media then became a government monopoly (Karikari, 2007, p. 13). However, in recent times in Africa with the wave of democracy across the

continent, individuals and corporate entities are allowed to establish media companies. To this end, Nyamnjoh (2004) argues that since the 1990s the ongoing quest for democracy has brought about not only multiparty politics but also a kind of media pluralism. He noted that “In almost every country, the number of private newspapers has increased dramatically with the clamor for recognition and representation by individuals and groups. Private FM radio and television stations have mushroomed, with international broadcasters such as BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) and RFI (Radio France Internationale) now readily available locally on FM in certain capitals and provincial cities” (p. 70). Although there are developments in the African media landscape, the government all too often uses the media to advance its interest. Thus, the media in Africa so far have not been able to evolve a system that reflects cultural values in Africa.

Media’s role in democracies: Overview. Cook (2005) argues that institutions are social patterns of behavior that are found across organizations in a given society that control a particular social sphere. These patterns of social behavior give organizations a framework to function therein as well as communicating expectations from the society. For this reason, Cook (2005) further argues that news media should be seen not only as institutions but also as political. Thus, he called journalists ‘political actors’ (p. 85). To this end, there is an inherent interface between media and politics. And so, McNair (2000) argues that

... any study of democracy in contemporary conditions is therefore also a study of how the media report and interpret political events and issues; of how they facilitate the efforts of politicians to persuade their electorate of the correctness of policies and programmes;

of how they themselves (i.e., editorial staff, management and proprietors influence the political process and shape public opinion. (p. 1)

The media right from its inception have always been seen as the custodian of news and information in the society. The news and daily affairs of the society form the raw materials of the journalistic enterprise. To this end, Schudson (2013) argues that journalism seeks to contribute truth to public discourse, discussion and appraisal of the government of the day. It is not then surprising when Siebert et al. (1956) argue that the history of journalism is founded on the need to serve and protect democracy. This is because as they noted “Government in a democracy is the servant of the people” (p. 50).

Thus, Merrill (2011) submits that democracy needs informed citizenry which relies on news media to know about its government. And so, the news media provide a check on the government which no other institution could provide as it is charged with the responsibility of keeping government from undue overreach (Schudson, 2013). In line with this idea, Mwaura, Biwott and Chepkemei (2013) argue that the media as an institution is tasked with the duty of checking those in public office from overstepping their bounds. And for this to happen they argue that it requires that the media should be given full freedom. This role of the media often creates tension between the media and the government in the society. Skjerdal (2001) argues that in a democratic society the press and government have conflicting interests. He further observed that as the government wants positive coverage from the press, the press often seeks critical coverage on the government, and these results to uneasy relationship between the government and the press.

The logic behind the role of media in a democracy is in conformity with Habermas' (2006) idea of 'the public sphere' where in the realm of social life public opinion is formed. And the public sphere is made accessible to everybody. He argues that citizens act as a public body when they come together and act in a free manner that ensures their freedom of assembly and association and the right to express and publish their opinions- in matters of their interest. And for this to happen it needs means of transmitting information and impacting the audience. For this reason, he says that "Today, newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere" (p. 73). Despite Habermas' praise of the media, Pieter (2005) noted that Habermas also noted the shortcomings of the media especially the press in its function in the democratic society. This is to say that throughout the history, the media in the society sometimes have failed to live up of the expectation of the society. Nevertheless, the role of the media is important in a democratic society.

The media do help to create the public sphere as they serve as the conduit of carrying information from the public to the government. Thus, Mwaura et al. (2013) argue that the media promote public debate through the means of mass communication in the public sphere in today's world. By doing this the media give voice to the people and this strengthens the democratic participation of the people.

Media's role in African democracies. Media theory points to development and maintenance of political democracy as the core normative role of journalism (Baker, 2002; Christians, McQuail, Glasser, Nordenstreng, & White, 2010; Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards & Rucht, 2002; Gans, 2003; Hallin & Mancini, 2004; McQuail, 1983, 2005; Jebril, Stetka & Loveless, 2013; Siebert et al., 1956). However, in Africa, White (2008) argues that one of the

problems of presenting this immensely varied research on media and democracy is how to present it in a relatively coherent order. This is because as he further argues that the process of democratization has many phases, dimensions, and conditions, and all of these are important in the overall development toward a ‘mature democracy’ in Africa (White, 2008).

Nevertheless, Obansanjo and Mobogunje (1992) contend that the media in a democracy help in building an environment conducive to democracy, through promoting free choice of leadership, respect for the rule of law, by the rulers and the ruled, social justice and equity as well as respect for human rights. And so, Imoh (2013) argues that the role of the mass media in a democracy is to assist in the entrenchment of a political culture that allows for free and orderly succession, especially of civilian to civilian administration.

Therefore, to understand the role of the media in African democracies, it is pertinent to grasp the different roles the African media played in different epochs in the history of the African continent. Similarly, Ibeleme (2003) and Agbese (2006) argue that to understand the Nigerian press which is the history of African press writ large a historical perspective is important. And so, within the Nigeria context they mentioned four periods, namely, nationalist, regionalist, state-oriented and the independent press periods (Agbese, 2006). But speaking about Africa in general the different epochs and media roles are, namely, the colonial press, the nationalist press, the postcolonial press, and African media in the 21st century.

The colonial press. Different colonial powers established the press in the continent. Faringer (1999) argues that the African press came into existence under colonialism and followed in its development the European and North American press. He noted that African journalism within this era was greatly influenced by the colonial powers as they introduced a

rather authoritarian press concept. To support this point of view, Agbese (2006) argues that independent African states inherited colonial structures, political and otherwise that were mainly authoritarian in nature. Similarly, Wilcox (1975) had earlier argued that the press was simply the official publication of a colonial government. For this reason, Faringer (1991) argues that the goal was to promote mass literacy, encourage rural development as well as countering nationalist aspirations. In addition to these goals, he further noted the purpose was to “promote news and information to European business persons and civil servants in Africa” (p. 3). To this end, he argues that the press in Africa at this epoch in concept and content was ethnocentric. Although its targeted audience was mainly Europeans, nevertheless, the essential function was to foster loyalty and conformity with the colonial powers.

The various colonial powers that ruled Africa had different ideologies and this was reflected in the role and nature of the press in different colonial African states. The British in Africa practiced an indirect rule by making use of already existing African institutions. Faringer (1991) argues that the system is not based on any particular ideology but due to in part to insufficient administrative ability to govern in any other way. For this reason, he argues that Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya had the best developed press in English-speaking Africa. And he traced the root sources to four different kinds of early newspapers, namely, “1) the official government gazettes; 2) the missionary press; 3) privately owned newspapers; and 4) the underground political, anti-colonial news sheets” (p. 3).

Thus, Faringer (1991) argues that journalism started in Africa with newspapers owned or operated by the officials of the British colonial government as well as newspapers independently owned by Europeans. The British government newspapers include, the *Royal Gazette* which was

the first known newspaper in Africa and the *Sierra Leone Advertiser* started in 1801 (Faringer, 1999), as well as the Gold Coast Gazette established in Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast (now Ghana). There are also other newspapers independently owned such as the *Iwe Irohin*, a biweekly and bilingual (English and Yoruba) missionary newspaper founded by Reverend Henry Townsend in 1859 (Agbese, 2006; Faringer, 1991; Omu, 1978). Faringer (1991) argues that the missionary press made an immense contribution to the development of an independent press in Africa as it was specifically aimed at the African audience. Others include the *Accra Herald* founded in 1857 and which two years later moved to Cape Coast and was re-named *West Africa Herald* (Faringer, 1991).

Conversely, the French practiced a policy of assimilation. To this end, Faringer (1991) argues that in the assimilation policy the goal was to integrate the colonies with France, by which Africans who had acquired enough of French civilization earned the legal right to attain French citizenship.

Therefore, the role of the press in the French colonies was to contribute to the assimilation process (Faringer, 19991). To this end, little effort was made to develop an African press in the French colonies (Faringer, 1991). However, the existing press within the colonies was to “promote the growth of French speaking native elite receptive to French culture” (Faringer, 1991, p. 3). And so, the newspaper audience and journalists were among the ‘assimilée’, those who could read and write in French. They are the ones who have become assimilated and incorporated into the superior French culture (Rodney, 1972).

The nationalist press. Faringer (1991) argues that the British in Africa pursued libertarian ideas of the press. To that effect, African newspapers carried out strong criticism of

colonial policies without interference (Faringer, 1991; Njamnjoh, 2005). In the former British colonies of West Africa the press dates back more than 160 years while in the former French colonies it is less than a century old (Faringer, 1991). To this point, Zaghlami (2016) argues that the nationalist press in North Africa emerged in the 20th century as an alternative to defy and challenge the repressive rule of colonialism.

And so, the British colonies blossomed in the journalistic enterprise. Thus, the first indigenous newspapers published for the African audience and by Africans came from the British West African colonies of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and later Nigeria (Faringer, 1991). Faringer (1991) argues that the main rationale for the newspaper was political as they served as a tool for political development and influence. He further noted that these African newspapers written in English launched a relentless attack on the colonial authorities. And so, Faringer (1991) submits that these indigenous newspapers became a force in the independence movement in Africa.

However, another interesting fact about these indigenous newspapers that points to their libertarian as well as Western influence is the migrant nature of some of the founders (Njamnjoh, 2005). In support of this idea, Faringer (1991) argues that the return of freed slaves from the United States and the West Indies to Liberia and Sierra Leone had an influence on the early press in West Africa. He further pointed out some of the returnees such as Charles Force, a Black American who came to Monrovia in 1826 and established a newspaper called *The Liberia Herald*.

The political slant of these African newspapers was very clear. They frequently critiqued the colonial government as well as providing in-depth news coverage of the West African

countries especially Gold Coast (Faringer, 1991). Therefore, Faringer (1991) argues that by the beginning of the 20th century British West Africa had established sixty-three newspapers, thirty-four in Sierra Leone; nineteen in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), nine in Nigeria, and one in Gambia, while there was no indigenous press in other parts of Africa except in South Africa.

In the final analysis, the nationalist press “supported the emerging anticolonial protests that erupted via frequent demonstrations in Lagos and in the Gold Coast (now Ghana)” (Faringer, 1991, p. 7). Notably among these newspapers that supported anticolonial protests and other political development are the *Lagos Daily News* founded in 1925 by Herbert Macaulay, and the *West African Pilot* founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1937 among others (Faringer, 1991). Rønning (2005) argues that the privately owned, independent and nationalist press emerged along with the nationalist movement in colonial Africa, especially in the British colonies. And this took place especially in West Africa and Southern Africa with a history of courageous, critical and democratic newspapers (Rønning, 2005).

The post-colonial press. At independence various African countries inherited the media apparatus of the state. Thus, Njamnjoh (2005) argues that the introduction and development of broadcasting in Africa have been highly influenced by Western societies and models. To this end, he further argues that the western heritage of African media gave it values, attitudes and practices identifiable with radio and television in the West.

During the colonial period, the colonial powers controlled the press and other media in their colonies as the media were the mouthpiece of the government in Africa in the colonial era (Barton, 1979; Faringer, 1991; Njamnjoh, 2005; Wilcox, 1975).

Following independence much of the practice and function of the media did not change from its role in the colonial era as the mouthpiece of the government. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that what happened was that “independence consolidated indigenous and private initiative in press ownership, but it also maintained and enhanced attempts by governments to control the press” (p. 43). The new African governments saw themselves as the representative of the public interest and tried to muzzle the press (Hyden & Okigbo, 2002; Njamnjoh, 2005). And so, Njamnjoh (2005) bluntly articulated the fate of the press in post-colonial press:

If the colonial press was either at the service of settler communities or victim of repressive laws, the postcolonial press from the 1960s to the 1980s was similarly either the mouthpiece of the government or subjected to draconian laws and administrative censorship (p. 42).

The progress made during the era of the nationalist press where the press championed the cause of the independence of the African states as well as playing the adversarial role of critiquing the colonial government were rolled back in the post-colonial press era. To this end, Njamnjoh (2005) argues that state presidents such as Mobutu of Zaire nationalized the press, changed the newspapers’ titles to indigenous names, and discouraged private initiative as well as subjecting journalists to severe restrictions that really impeded the professionalization of the media professions.

Many of the leaders of the independent states of Africa detested the press as they “sought to make the press partners in nation-building and development” (Njamnjoh, 2005, p. 43). This notion made leaders see the adversarial role of the press and journalists themselves as “dangerous troublemakers that had to be contained” (Njamnjoh, 2005, p. 43).

Thus, the press in this era was cowed to modulate its watchdog role against the highhandedness of the powerful and the rulers of the society. And so, Njamnjoh (2005) concludes that the perception of many regarding the press was that the government had bought the press. The press suffered a setback within the era as institutional progress was retarded. Thus, Njamnjoh (2005) articulated that

The Leaders had drawn inspiration from and added on to the rich repertoire of repressive colonial laws to keep the press and civil society in check. Such pieces of legislation, which accentuated the difficulties of journalists in many countries by hardening the uncooperative attitude of many in high office, were targeted for reform at the dawn of the liberation struggles. (p. 43)

The role of the press in the democratic process during the post-colonial era did not yield much. And the profession did not progress at all in the period as the government clamped down on any press and journalists perceived to be critical to their role in various African countries.

The media in the 21st century Africa. The failures of the post-colonial African leaders and their usurpation of the press did not augur well on the continent. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that when development and nation-building promises of the post-colonial African leaders failed, the press and other arms of civil society began rooting for a second liberation from leadership without responsibility. This struggle for the second liberation dates back to the 1990s (Njamnjoh, 2005). Esipisu and Karithi (2007) argue that last decade and half in African history has witnessed serious changes in media ecology on the continent, as the continent gives up on single party and military rule and embraces multi-party systems. They further argue that the result of as a

democratic movement of the early 1990s the monopoly of the media by the government was broken. This paved way to private ownership of newspapers, radio and television.

Njamnjoh (2005) and Hyden et al. (2002) argue that the current democratic process in Africa not only introduces ‘multipartyism’ but also a kind of media pluralism. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that the fact that many African leaders did not welcome private ownership of broadcasting after independence until the 1990s pro-democracy demands points to the continuation of their colonial heritage. Bourgault (1995) argues that the demands of the pro-democracy movement made some African leaders accept demands by international broadcasters such as BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), RFI (Radio France Internationale), as well as private investors to establish FM transmitters and also provide satellite television services in their territories. Van der Veur (2002) describes these changes in broadcasting in Africa as “Liberalization of the airwaves” (p. 93). To this end, Kupe (2002) submits that the liberalization of the airwaves is the emergence of private broadcasters and in some instances ‘community’ broadcasters.

Perhaps, the greatest progress in this regard was the emergence of the internet in the African continent. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that digital, flexible, global and quality broadcasting is now a reality in Africa, thanks to the satellites hovering above the continent. In this regard, Wasserman (2003) contends that the coming and the development of information and communication technologies especially the internet has increased exchanges between people, dreams of economic prosperity, and a new sense of interconnectedness. And so, Rheingold (2003) and Burnett and Marshall (2003) argue that the new media technologies have brought interactive “many-to-many” communication that has created avenues for activists in three key

areas: dissemination of alternative news, creating virtual public spheres; and organizing collective political action.

Consequently, the new media have the potential to shift power balances between states and citizens (Wasserman, 2003). To this end, the new media technologies have promoted democratic participation by their interactivity in the African countries (Mutume, 2003).

However, as the 21st century African media ecology opens up to global media, the media in Africa are confronted with another problem. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that the threat to a free, open and participatory media system now comes from the interests of rich nations, international financial institutions and communications multinationals. To this end, Rønning (2005) argues that the interests of international financial institutions in the African media raise serious issues of independence. Talking about the influence of the donor community, Rønning (2005) argues they compel the African press to play the role of the Fourth Estate and act as the classical watchdog. He further argues that this contributes to the tendency towards universalism where African journalists have imbibed western media values, attitudes and professional ideologies. And so, the trend alienates the African media as well as the African media practitioners from their culture, world view and ideologies that should form and provide the media paradigm in Africa. To this end, Eko (2003) argues that “Indeed, Africa is flooded by mass media content and, with it, the attendant philosophy, values, and worldviews from several parts of the world, most notably, the United States” (p. 195). Thus, he further argues that the African media truly participate in the cultural hegemony that accompanies globalization.

The problem with globalization in general is that it accentuates “the disparity of power among different nation-states, regions, cultures, and civilization, and the economic, political, and

cultural domination that results from such disparity” (Eko, 2003, p. 196). And the global media are one tool that makes the globalization process possible. Through global media participation the African media are now awash with foreign programs that transmit these foreign cultural values to the African audience. For this reason, Eko (2003) argues that the African media especially television have been overtaken by the constant transmission of American, European, and even Asian programming on stations across the continent.

Nevertheless, the emergence of a global information society contributed in no small measure to powerful democratizing forces (Rønning, 2005). Rønning (2005) further argues that the regular and alternative media played various roles in the democratization process by exposing corruption and abuse of power as well as the voicing dissatisfaction of the masses. And more, he noted that during the transitional phase they provided platforms to communicate and interpret information and to serve as mouthpieces for various groups involved in the period before the election. He, therefore, concludes that in countries where public media were monopolized by the government as its mouthpiece, the alternative media functioned as an additional source of pressure.

In summary, this chapter highlights the importance of institutions in general and in particular the development of professionalism. Rodrik et al. (2003) argue that institutions are critical to the development process. Suddaby et al. (2011) emphasize the interface between institutions and professions by arguing that although professionals are institutional agents but are not constrained by the institutional context in which they act (e.g., the power of markets or the state) instead they also have creative power to shape and change institutions. Thus, the media play essential roles in the development of democratic institutions. And so, McNair (2000) argues

that any study of democracy in the present era is also a study of how the media relay and interpret political issues and events; and how the electorates are persuaded by the politicians about their policies and programs as well as how the media practitioners influence and shape the political process and public opinion.

However, in the case of African media institutions which are a product of colonial heritage the development has not progressed very well partly because the states and government have not been stable as to providing a context for growth. Mancini (2005) argues that the state plays an important role in a media system as the African media follow colonial European professional models. To this end, Shirley (2005) argues that for 600 years most of the countries that are underdeveloped today are colonies and this has prompted institutional economists to conclude that poor institutions are a colonial legacy. Thus, North (1990) argues that colonial powers created institutions that worked for their own interest. To this end, Shirley (2005) concludes that countries have weak institutions for reasons deeply rooted in their past in the terms of their colonial heritage.

Shoemaker and Reese (2014) provide among other things the framework to understand and study media and institutions. They argue “that the media exert their own unique shaping power to the symbolic environment, a shaping that is open to explanation using various theoretical perspectives- which we combine into the hierarchy of influences model” (p. 33). In their analysis of the ‘hierarchy of influences’ on the media they identify the influential power of institutions on the media. And so, they argue that press-state relationship is seen through an institutional lens. Thus, Shoemaker et al. (2014) further argue that within the media institutions is the means for development of professionalism. For this reason, they noted that

“professionalism within the media institutions is understood in relation to other key institutions in society” (p. 36). And so, this chapter provides a context for the study of normative influences on African media.

CHAPTER 4

THE VARIOUS NORMATIVE INFLUENCES ON AFRICAN MEDIA

The previous chapters two and three lay out the framework for this chapter. Precisely chapter two focuses on the African history of colonialism and neo-colonialism vis-à-vis the cultural effects of assimilation and diffusion therein that set the socio-historical context of the research. And then chapter three lays out the role of institutions, its role in the development of professionalism, the role of the media in general and in particular in Africa and the operational framework of African media institutions. The chapter further explores the reasons for the limited professional development of African media institutions, and more, other institutions in Africa due in part to the colonial heritage. Shirley (2005) argues that “the colonial powers did little to build state institutions, except where there was a large European presence, but did introduce the concept of territorial sovereignty” (p. 16). For this reason, Africa today has the existence of weak institutions that cannot be the catalyst for professional development in the continent. And then, chapter four brings to bear the effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism that create the existing normative influences on African media. All these influences affect the professional development of the African media.

What Is Normative Influence in Journalism Theory?

McQuail (2000) argues that there is a blurry line between media theory and theory of society. This is because the nature of the relation between media and society is dependent on circumstances of time and place. He further argues that there are differences in the way societies that have ‘non-Western’ characteristics experience media especially in societies that are less individualistic and more communal in character, less secular and more religious. Thus,

recognizing the importance of culture in media, McQuail (2000) noted that cultures “constitute a primary source of definitions and images of social reality and the most ubiquitous expression of shared identity” (p. 4).

Given the importance of normative influence on the individual, Yanovitzky and Rimal (2006) argue that social norms exert a great deal of influence on human behavior and that processes of normative influence exist in a variety of contexts and situations that people encounter in their everyday lives. However, a social perspective views norm as the property of the group and the process of normative influence as one that is essentially grounded in a person’s relationships with other group members (Yanovitzky et al., 2006). Norms are important source of influence both on the individual as well as group members. Scholars who study normative influence from different prisms understand that norms are formed, reformed, and maintained through human communication (Yanovitzky et al., 2006, p. 2). They further argue that communication is an important component of social relationships at all levels of analysis (individual, group, and social institutions) and the primary means through which people seek information and learn about social reality.

Nevertheless, the point to emphasize in this section is the fact that normative theory underscores the role of communication in society as it takes into account the influences of politics, economics, culture and ideology. Christians et al. (2009) argue that normative theory outlines a set of guidelines for actions that are acceptable within the communication domain that is in line with a widely held philosophical world view. Recognizing this point, they further submit that regions such as Africa and Asia may develop their own normative tradition that is consonant with democratic public communication that differs from the Western tradition. Such

an impetus may warrant the rejection of a practice that may not be in tandem with indigenous values and philosophical traditions. Thus, different perceptions of reality inspire different normative guidelines in public communication.

African scholars such as (Gyekye, 1992; Kasoma, 1996; Molefe, 2018; Menkiti, 1984 Nyamnjoh, 2005; Wiredu, 1992), and others are influenced in their normative guidelines by African values and socio-cultural as well as political realities. The fundamental characteristic of normative theory is that it makes assumptions about the nature of man and social reality. And so, it links public communication to a broader structure of meaning (Christians et al., 2009). This is the case because it is the duty of scholars to shape and sharpen the philosophical argument that underpins the development of normative theory within the socio-cultural context of a given society and epoch. On this standpoint, Christians et al. (2009) argue that normative theory is historically driven as it situates a model of public discourse within an acceptable foundation of what morality is given. And the moral given is established by existential realities, for instance, the Enlightenment period espouses the validity of human reason and the essentiality of human freedom to champion the cause of liberty.

Despite the role of normative theory in establishing guidelines in public communication, Christians et al. (2009) noted four important issues that normative theory has to deal with, namely, the issue of free and equal access to open public debate; finding ways to resolve conflict through deliberation; to balance the art of persuasive, elegant, popularly understandable public discourse that is truthful; and finally, the relation of the academy and the arena of public discourse.

Normative theory is made up of different traditions that emanate from different socio-cultural milieus. It is for this reason, that African scholars have proposed *Ubuntu* as the philosophy of existence that gives meaning to the individual in the context of the community, ‘the clan vital’. It is within the understanding of the above points that this section examines Western/Colonial libertarian and the Chinese developmental normative theories taken into account their historical and socio-cultural realities as influences on African media norm. But before that, we look at the socio-cultural influence of African values on media norms.

African Cultural Influences on Media Norms

Njamnjoh (2005) argues that African world-views and cultural values are excluded from the media. Africa is excluded from the Western media as well as the African media that are influenced by Western media values and norm. Hachten (2004) pointed out that Africa has never been adequately reported and explained to the outside world. He further argues that the African media are victims of an imposed hierarchy in world culture. This is especially as the African media are patterned after the “cultural industries that have opted for routinisation, standardization and homogenization of media content” (Njamnjoh, 2005, p. 3). Thus, Njamnjoh (2005) submits that African media have uphill task to battle with especially as the media that came from the West are more interested in profits than the promotion of creative diversity and cultural plurality (p. 3). Murphy and Scotton (1987) argue that in the area of communication Africa has continued to find it difficult to break away from the controls and patterns established by the colonial powers. They further argue that the Western media have continued to have much influence on Africa’s own media. To this end, they submit that “Some of Africa’s journalism programs could be moved to the United States, for example, without changing texts, curriculum,

or instructors” (p. 12). In the same vein, Rodney-Gumede (2015) argues that media theory especially the normative conceptualizations of the role of news media is based on Western epistemological views and so it is difficult to serve the needs of developing nations such as African countries.

Similarly, Domatob (1988) argues that although many African states in the sub-Saharan African have gained independence many years ago they are still in the shackles and fetters of neocolonialism. He further argues that the Africa’s media technology and practices attest to the grip of neocolonialism. He noted that “Sub-Saharan Africa’s media training, policies, technology, news values, language and advertising heavily favor the neo-colonial status quo” (p. 151). The strong colonial and neocolonial influences on the African media are still the case as the African media still wear the garb of these foreign influences. Traber (1989) argues that if one searches the African newspapers (media) to see how rooted they in African values and traditions, one would easily discover that they are simply foreign bodies clothed in African cultural cloth.

However, efforts have been made and media scholars in Africa argue that African cultural influences and values based on African epistemology are necessary for the African media to fulfill its role in Africa (Ansah, 1988; Christian, 2004; Domatob, 1988, 1987; Fourie, 2011; Metz, 2015; Murphy & Scotton, 1987; Njamnjoh, 2005; Rodney-Gumede, 2015a; Traber, 1989; Wilson, 1987). Moreover, media scholars have always argued that journalism practice should be based on sociopolitical and ethical tenets of the society it serves (Kasoma, 1996; Merrill, 1974). Ansah (1988) in discussing the role of mass communication in the democratic process in Africa argues that “the press system of any country is a reflection of the social, political and economic environment in which it operates” (p. 12). He further noted that one of the

functions of communication is to provide an avenue for social interaction and participation. He makes the case and argues that the fortunes of the mass media are closely linked with the political system of which it is a part, and in this sense, it is wrong to isolate the issues of the media and discuss it outside the general political framework (p. 12). On this point, Njamnhoh (2005) argues that the problem facing the African media is how to domesticate the understanding of democracy as mediated by the quest for mutuality between individual and community interests.

Given the prominent position of community in African world view any understanding of media and democracy without the proper delineation of the community will remain foreign to Africa (Kasoma, 1996; Mbiti, 1975; Metz, 2007; Njamnjoh, 2013, 2009, 2005a, 2005; Metz, 2007; Shutte, 2001; Ramose, 1999). Thus, Njamnjoh (2005) argues that the negation of the conviviality between the individual and community interests in African media is the reason for a democracy that is hardly informed by popular articulations of personhood and agency in Africa, and media whose professional values are not in tune with the expectations of those they purport to serve.

The concept of community in Africa is important as it encapsulates the role of the individual in relation to the community the *locus* of existence. Rodney (1972) argues that in all African society during the early epoch, the individual at every stage in life has various duties and obligations to others in the society as well as sets of rights and in the same way things he or she expects from other individuals. Thus, personhood is the distinguishing mark between Western epistemology and African epistemology. In the African view of personhood – it is acquired and not a given as is the case in the Western perspective. In the African sense of personhood, Menkiti

(1984) states that “we must conceive of this organism a long process of social and ritual transformation until it attains the full complement of excellences seen as truly definitive of man” (p. 172). Kowalko (2010) argues that traditional Western approaches are deeply rooted in the metaphysics of individualism. Similarly, Mauser (1979) argues that the West used an individualistic and objectivist framework to build a civilization where the individual is powerful, where liberty is a good that is absolute, and where there is room for the play of free enterprise. He further argues that in Africa things are quite otherwise; this is because African civilization is characterized above all by solidarity, communitarianism, traditionalism and participation. Teffo and Roux (2003) submit that “In Western philosophy the starting-point for the account of personhood is usually epistemological and psychological. Knowledge is the ‘possession’ of a particular individual...In African thinking the starting-point is social relations- selfhood is seen and accounted for from this relational perspective” (p. 204).

Coetzee (2003) defines community as “... association of men and women who have a special commitment to one another and a developed (distinct) sense of their common life. The common life is any public discursive space which members construct through action-in-concert” (p. 322). The community confers on the members a shared understanding through participation in the creation of their commonality. And so, social identity is the community’s characteristic way of life (Coetzee, 2003). And this is built over time and sustained through cultural integration.

For Wiredu (1992) there are two ways to understand the concept of man in Akan, and more, the African traditional thought (Imafidon, 2012; Onah, 2002), one is descriptive and the other is normative. Imafidon (2012) following Wiredu’s thought argues that the descriptive

concept of a person in African traditional thought focuses on the ontological status of the individual while the normative African concept of a person reveals the social status of the individual. The media in Africa should focus on the normative concept of a person that reveals the individual's existence in relation to the community. This is because the idea of a person's relation to the community flows from the African world view and it is at the heart of African culture (Gbadegesin, 1991; Coetzee, 2003; Gyekye, 2003; Ramose, 2003; Teffo et al., 2003). Gyekye (2003) contends that the type of social structure evolved by a given society reflects and influenced by the general views held about personhood in the society. What is at stake in the individual relation to the community was articulated by Gyekye (2003) as follows:

The status of the rights of the individual –whether these are so fundamental that they may not be overridden in any circumstances. The place of duties- how the individual sees his/her socio-ethical roles in relation to the interests and welfare of others. The existence and appreciation of a sense of common life or common (collective) good. (p. 348)

Thus, Menkiti (1984) noted that in an African view it is the community that defines the person as person, and not just the quality of rationality, will, or memory. Njamnjoh (2010) argues that the sense of community is an enduring feature of the African social life. The African society is communal in nature because a person is believed to be continually in a social relation with others and cannot exist outside the community. The social relations among individuals are direct consequences of the communitarian social arrangement (Gyekye, 2003). Nyamnjoh (2010) noted that this does not exclude individualistic values. The point of emphasis is that when community values intersect with individualistic values, the former subsumes the latter.

Gyekye (2003) argues that African socio-ethical thought is reflected in the communitarian features of the social structure of African societies. It is this common assumption of the embodiment of these communitarian features in the African culture that made the nationalist fathers of African independence build their social-political philosophy on communalism, socialism and communitarian ethos such as Kenyatta, Senghor, Nkrumah, Nyerere (Gyekye, 2003; Masolo, 2004; Wiredu, 2008). Gyekye (2003) further noted that communitarianism views the human person as basically a communal being enmeshed in a social context of relationship and interdependence and not an isolated individual. For this reason, the community becomes a group of persons bound together by various links and who share common interests, goals and values.

In spite of the consensus on the cultural basis of African communitarianism, African scholars disagree on the degree and extent of this social-ethical conception of the society. Molefe (2017) noted the debate between the so called ‘radical’ and ‘moderate’ communitarians in the works of (Gyekye, 1997, 1992; Matolino, 2009; Menkiti, 2004, 1984). At the core of this debate is the primacy of the community over the individual or the equal status of the community and the individual. Those in the camp of radical communitarianism represented by the works of Mbiti (1969) and Menkiti (1984) uphold the primacy of the community over the individual. This belief is anchored on what Mbiti (1970) adduced while expressing the status of the individual within the African culture “I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am” (p. 141). The point at issue here is the idea that the community is the custodian of the individual, and so, the individual should be where the community is. The community provides the space for the existence of the individual. And it is the community that protects and provides security as well as

means of livelihood for the individual in terms of land for farming and labor (Rodney, 1972). For this reason, Africans underscore community life and communalism as a living principle of which the basic ideology is community-identity (Emeakaroha, 2002; Onwubiko, 1991). Conversely, the moderate communitarianism camp represented by the works of Gyekye (1997) and Matolino (2009) espouses the notion that extreme or radical communitarianism denies the individual his or her rights. And they argue that the individual and the community have equal rights. But many African scholars dispute this view arguing that the rights of the community and the individual will conflict with each other (Famanikwa, 2010; Mezt, 2012; Oyowe, 2014).

To advance the communitarian argument, Molefe (2017) defended Menkiti's view of communitarianism by arguing that the normative idea of personhood is essential for the understanding of Afro-communitarianism. And he further noted that the normative idea of personhood gives the community priority over an individual. The personal identity of an individual in the African culture is understood in terms of relation with others or "being-with-others" as well as dependence on the community (Behrens, 2013; Ikuenobe, 2006; Molefe, 2016b; Wiredu, 2009, 2004, 1992). Afro-communitarianism secures the individual goods by appealing to the idea of personhood. Molefe (2017) argues that instead of appealing to rights, Afro-communitarianism invokes the idea of personhood to give content to an African approach to securing a life of dignity for the individual. Wiredu (2008) corroborates this idea by arguing that the basic communalistic values of traditional African society can be read off the traditional conception of personhood.

It should be pointed out, however, that the individual-community relationship is not based on which precedes the other (Eze, 2008). Eze (2008) argues that despite the unanimity of

African scholars on the role of the community in the realization of the individual's well-being, the relationship should be understood in terms of dialogical interaction. He contends that the relationship between the individual and community is dialogical because the identity of the individual and the community is contingent on this constitutive formation. He further argues that the relationship between the individual and the community is contemporaneous. For this reason, Eze (2008) concludes that "The individual is not prior to the community and neither is the community prior to the individual" (p. 106).

African scholars argue that a good society is a communitarian society (Gyekye, 1992; Mbigi, 2005; Mezt, 2007; Molefe, 2017; Wiredu, 2008, 1992). This is because the Afro-communitarian society sees all human beings from the point of the common good. And there is general consensus among African scholars that there are basic needs that all human beings have in common and it is the role of ethics to secure these basic needs for flourishing (Gyekye, 2004; Lutz, 2009; Molefe, 2017; Wiredu, 1992). The securing of these basic needs which are "peace, happiness, justice, dignity, respect, security, equality" (Gyekye, 2010), and for all are premised on the role of duty towards the community in which the individual is the *telos* (end). To this end, Molefe (2017) argues that "I can only achieve personhood by manifesting virtues or exercising other regarding duties to the community. Metaphorically, the well-being of all is promised or even guaranteed by the warmth of the community" (p. 18).

Interestingly, in both Africa and in the West communitarianism is an existing ethical paradigm. The ethical paradigm of communitarianism has been used in discussing the role of the media in both areas. Christians (2004) argues that two independent paradigms, namely, *Ubuntu* communitarianism (Afro-communitarianism) in Africa and communitarianism in Europe and

North America have developed. And he argues further that in both paradigms the community has an ontological existence prior to that of individuals. How does each paradigm differ from the other? And what are the similarities?

Western Communitarianism vs. Afro-Communitarianism

Essentially, European communitarianism developed in opposition to the classical liberal world view where the atomistic self is at the center (Christians, Ferré & Fackler, 1993). Christians et al. (1993) noted that “conceptually and empirically, individual autonomy characterizes the classical liberal theory of the press” (p. 13). They submitted that

Since the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, the atomistic self has been the West’s cultural core and the defining feature of that cultural activity we call reporting. The primary root of the Enlightenment mind was negative freedom- freedom understood as an end in itself. The enduring problem is integrating human freedom with moral order, and Enlightenment failed to resolve it, stridently insisting on individual autonomy as nonnegotiable. (p. 13)

The point at issue here is that Western communitarianism is a revolutionary ethical paradigm against the liberal world view that has the atomistic self as the core of its foundation. It does not flow from the cultural values embedded in the cultural framework of the West. To this point, Christians et al. (1993) contend that emphasizing the collective in the communitarian paradigm was an obvious reaction to Enlightenment individualism. Christians (2004) argues that communitarianism is an antidote to individualistic liberalism. And so, Horsthemke (2018) argues that in Western communitarianism the sense of ‘we’ is simply an additive and not a thoroughly infused ‘we’ in the sense of Afro-communitarianism.

Wiredu (2008) argues that Western communitarianism developed from individualist systems. For him it is synonymous with certain forms of cultural individualism. Masolo (2004) argues that in “Euro-American philosophical traditions communitarianism still lacks a uniform and normative expression which can be said to unite all its socio-political or moral theory, but it has become a fairly strong and important source of critique of the perceived excesses of the liberal ideology of individualism” (p. 483). He further argues that the development followed the thoughts of Enlightenment philosophers such as Hegel and this makes the paradigm follow the path of philosophical romanticism in which the state finds a new definition and mystical meaning. Even given this, Wiredu (2008) argues that it lacks the characteristics of traditional, social and political order of African communitarianism. He suggests that the term ‘communalism’ be used for the African communitarianism and not the Western communitarianism. Thus, Masolo (2004) concludes that the Western communitarianism emerges from the milieu of seeming discrepancy between the values of liberalism as against the articulated values of liberalism, on the other hand. And for him, Western communitarianism has an outlook of a watchdog for the common good more than a robust social theory.

Oruka (2003) argues that culture is a way of life of a whole society while ideology is usually confined to a class. Given the distinction between culture and ideology, Oruka further argues that culture is not an ideology and ideology does not in itself constitute a culture. Oruka observes that communism as an ideology is often confused with communism as a cultural system. For him communism as an ideology is a social political theory existing as a philosophy of certain governments and political parties in the world while communism as a culture value is an ideal form of life. In the same vein, communitarianism in the West could be seen as an

ideology born to counter Enlightenment individualism. Thus, the proponents of this ideology submit that their effort is to develop a normative ethics of news reporting that must insist and include “both community and personhood that are central to the nature of human being” (Christians et al., 1993, p. 54). On the other hand, Afro-communitarianism is both the culture and world view of the African people. Makulilo (2016) argues that African society be it clan, family trumps over the freedom and rights of the individual.

African communitarianism is deeply rooted in the African world view. Senghor (1964) argues that the African tendency towards communitarianism is because that is the way of life of the African that is rooted in experience of the world. On this account, the writings of African nationalist politicians as well as the intellectual movement of Africans tried to give communitarianism a robust and prescriptive status (Masolo, 2004). These groups lay claim that “Their difference from Western communitarianism lies in the fact that they could appeal to African traditional, social and political orders as backing for their claims” (Masolo, 2004, p. 488). To this end, Senghor (1964) contends that the communitarian habits of the African is not acquired but innate in him as that is the African way of expressing being. The logic of African communitarianism is realized in ‘being-with-others’ and ‘one’s identity as a human being causally and even metaphorically depends on a community’ (Louw, 2004; Mezt, 2007). The whole point is that communitarianism as an ethical paradigm flows naturally from the African world view that informs its values and norms.

The African ethical paradigm is opposed to individualism. Gyekye (2010) contends that individualistic ethics that focuses on the welfare and the good of the individual is alien to African moral thought. Instead African moral thought expresses the good of the community vis-à-vis the

good of the individual. The notion of the fundamental role of the community in African socio-political thought has prompted many African scholars to see *Ubuntu* as the expression of African ethical genius (Broodryk, 2008; Chasi, 2015; Gade, 2011; Mezt, 2007; Ramose, 1999; Rodny-Gumede, 2015; Shuttle, 2001). Makulilo (2016) argues that the core values of the African society are communalism and interdependence. Thus, Shuttle (2001) maintains that

The idea of community is the heart of traditional African thinking about humanity. It is summed up in expression *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, a person is a person through other persons. This means that a person depends on personal relational with others to exercise, develop and fulfill those capacities that make one a person. (p. 12)

However, this genius of the African thought whereby the individual finds meaning and expressing in the whole has often been misconstrued as suffocating to the individual in the community (Gyekye, 1992; Matolino, 2009; Okolo, 2003; Oyowe, 2014, 2003). Okolo (2003) argues that such understanding of self is bound to generate a lot of problems. This is because the individual is not given consideration except in the context of the community and the values that assigns it to the individual. On this standpoint, Gyekye (1992) submits that such notion of the community tends to whittle down the moral autonomy of the individual. Commenting on Gyekye's view on what he called 'radical communitarianism' (1992), Molefe (2017) noted that Gyekye views such a notion of the community as an infringement to what is peculiar about human beings and as such would occasion individuals to be neglected while promoting the communal good.

Nevertheless, Western communitarianism and Afro-communitarianism have certain things in common. In articulating the argument for Western communitarianism, Christians et al.,

and (1994) argue that the theory is distinct from both individualism and collectivism but rather an integration of ‘person’ and ‘community’ into a communitarian whole. It recognizes the rights of the individual but maintains that “these rights exist only in relation to community” (Christians et al., 1994, p. xi). The interplay between the individual and the community is best understood in the content of mutuality – where both exist in reciprocity to each other. Thus, the concept of mutuality is central to the understanding of ethical thinking in the communitarian ethic. Within the confines of mutuality “The concept of persons in relation is primary; the focus is neither on the persons nor on the community as such, but rather on the interaction, the in-between, the commitment to the well-being of the whole” (Christians et al., 1994, p. 73). This idea it shares in common with Afro-communitarianism. Both Western communitarianism and Afro-communitarianism believe in the ontological existence of the community prior to the individual (Christians, 2004; Masolo, 2004; Wiredu, 2008). Christians (2004) argues that such understanding of the individual from the lens of the community contradicts the idea of Enlightenment individualism. He further contends that viewing the community as an integral network of relationships goes to resolve the conundrum between individual freedom and dependence on community.

Christians (2004) argues that communitarian arguments are anchored in the politics of common good. Thus, individual rights do not take precedence over the common good because the individual is born into a social relationship. And he or she can realize its fulfillment and identity within the social context. He further contends that “...our human identity is constituted within a social conception of the good, and we therefore cannot make individual rights the cornerstone of the political order” (p. 237).

Despite its focus on the community Western communitarianism upholds rather the rights of the individual. Masolo (2004) maintains that the ethics of participatory difference tasks everyone to be responsible towards those that one shares the same social space. This means that everyone is required to contribute and create humane conditions that reduce unhappiness and suffering. And this ultimately works for the good of the community as well as the individual in the society.

The Role of Communitarian Based Ethics in African Media

Kasoma (1994b) argues for a collective approach to journalism ethics in Africa. He further argues that the justification for advocating society-centered (community-based) journalism in Africa is based on the foundations of African ethics (Gyekye, 2010; Kasoma, 1996). Kasoma (1996) noted that journalism should be based on the sociopolitical and ethical tenets of the society it serves. Similarly, media experts have argued that journalism should be informed by the ethical tenets of their society as well as reflecting the political philosophy in which it functions (Merrill, 1974; Traber, 1989). Thus, Traber (1989) argues that African journalism would be better off if African journalists follow the values embedded in their own culture such as truth-telling. Kasoma (1996) submits that African journalists would ultimately discard the individualistic approach to a societal based journalism if they based their professional behavior on *Afriethical* foundations.

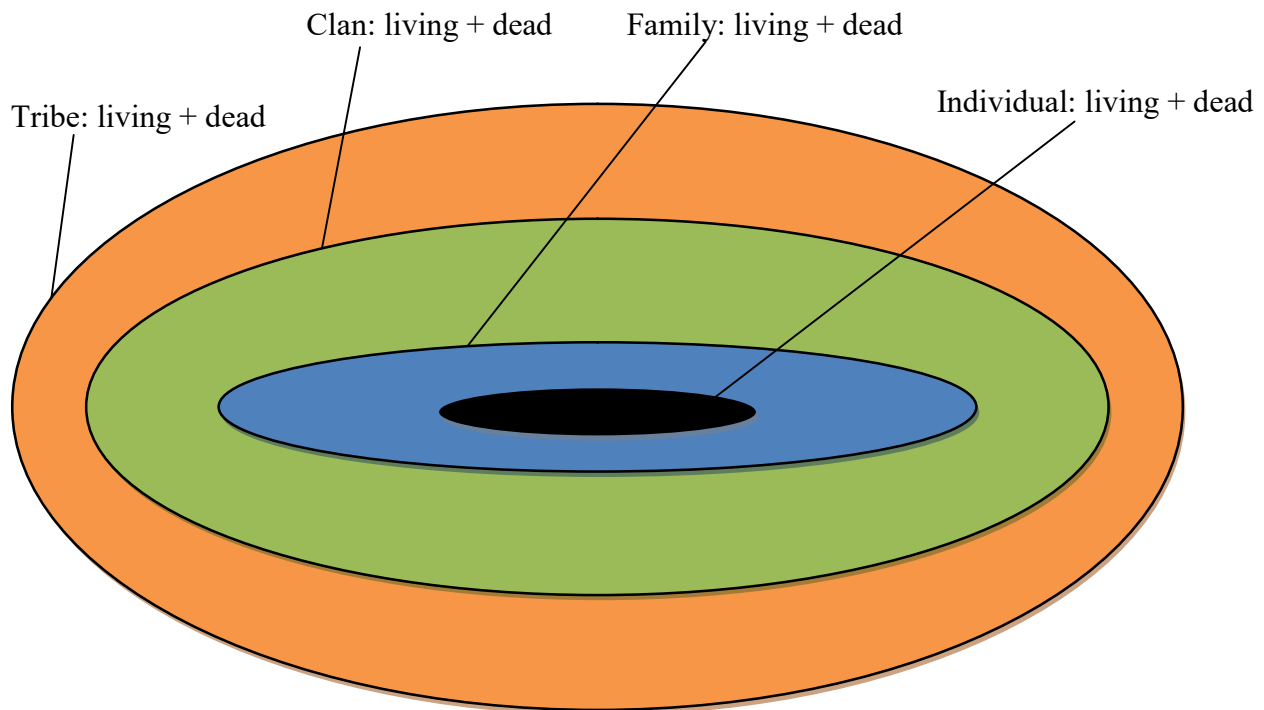
To understand the foundations of African ethics, Kasoma (1996) asks the question: what constitutes ethically good and bad behavior in African society? And to answer this question, Kasoma (1996) noted

The yardstick for good acts is whether or not they serve the community, the whole community consisting of the living and the dead – either as a family, a clan or the tribe (ethnic group). When acts only serve to propagate or satisfy pursuits of individuals, they are not regarded to be as good as those that serve the family, clan or tribe and may be even regarded as bad acts if they are harmful to the family, clan or tribe. (p. 103)

The point here is that African society is communal and the need for common good of the community overshadows all acts in African society (Kasoma, 1996). Thus, an act is said to be good when it benefits the larger community, tribe, clan and the family. Kasoma (1996) argues that acts that are only aimed at the good of the individual at the expense of the clan and the tribe may be regarded as bad. He submits that “to eat alone individually or as family when the rest of the village or clan is starving is regarded as bad act and a person who repeatedly does this is looked at as a bad person” (p. 104).

Figure 1: This explains the ethical influence on the Individual. The Tribe (Community), Clan and the Family influence the Individual. And, the Individual has allegiance to these levels of the community. And, that is the reason we talk about duty in the communitarian ethics in the African context

Figure 1: The ethical influence on an individual person.
(Source: Kasoma, 1996).



In this ethical framework the community takes priority over an individual and the main goal here is the well-being of all through which one's true humanity is realized (Molefe, 2017). The rights of the individual are seen to be secondary to the priority of securing the well-being of all human beings. For this reason, some have argued that right-based system sees every human being as autonomous and potentially in conflict with others (Ake, 1988; Tutu, 1999).

Communitarian ethics sees duty as the ethical moral principle (Gyekye, 1992). In the event where the rights of the individual clash with that of the community, duties to the community will supersede the rights of the individual. To this end, Ake (1987) argues that in traditional African society emphasis is placed on the collectivity and not on the individual. And because the collective interests override that of the individual, African society espouses harmony

and not divergence of interests, competition and conflict. The overarching force is the obligations to other members of the society rather than the claims against them. For this reason, he concludes that “The Western notion of human rights stresses rights which are not very interesting in the context of African realities” (p. 5).

The African values of solidarity and compassion are embedded in the communitarian ethics of duty (Gyekye, 2010). Gyekye (2004) argues that the morality of duties in communitarianism is characterized by showing concern for the well-being of others. And so, Gyekye (2010) concludes that

A morality of duty is one that requires each individual to demonstrate concern for the interests of other. The ethical values of compassion, solidarity, reciprocity, cooperation, interdependence, and social well-being, which are counted among the principles of the communitarian morality, primarily impose duties on the individual with respect to the community and its members. (p. 26).

The point of Gyekye’s argument is the view that duties to the community are more important than the individual right as it in the Western ethics. He argues that in the African morality of duties the notion of duties is elevated to similar status given to the notion of rights in Western ethics. And what is interesting in this view point is the argument that in the individual-community relationship this natural relationality bestows on the individual a moral role in the form of obligations, commitments, and duties to other members of the community which the individual must fulfill. Thus, Gyekye (2010) noted that the community life, the core feature of the African communitarian society, compels the members of the community to have a morality

that is heavily based on duty to others and to the community as well as constituting the foundation for moral responsibilities and obligations.

It is in this sense that the professional code of African media practitioners should be informed by duties to the community and not on the rights of the individual as in the case of a Western journalistic code. Thus, an Afro-communitarian ethics code of duty should urge the following obligations on African journalist:

- To seek the common good of the community in all your duties
- To treat the community as an end and not as a means.
- In the case of conflict of interest between the individual and the community give deference to the interest of the community.
- Individuals are members of the community, and are called to be loyal to the values of the community.
- To think of how to build up the community and not how to destroy it.
- To seek to promote the values of compassion, solidarity, reciprocity, cooperation, interdependence, and social well-being.
- To respect the values of unity, togetherness and cohesion.
- To let harmony and coexistence be the goal of your endeavors.
- The individual also has a role and a place in the community.
- The community remains the *terminus ad quo* and *terminus ad quem* of journalistic work.

The Afro-communitarian code of ethics developed by the researcher will enhance the practice of journalism in Africa as it flows from the genius of African culture and societal values. Kasoma (1996) argues that communal approach to journalism ethics is not against healthy journalistic competition but rather it promotes it. He contends that journalists in Africa to sell news that does not have regard to the sensitivities of the family, the clan and the tribe and this is not good. To this end, Kasoma (1996) argues that “African journalists should start looking into their own culture and precedents for inspiration instead of the North” (p. 114).

Nyamnjoh (2005) argues that in African democracy there is a cultural missing link. And so, to fill this cultural missing link, he argues that democracy in Africa should emphasize “coexistence and interdependence between the individual and the community, between communities, and between the state and the various cultural communities its ‘citizens’ are ‘subjects’ of” (p. 35). And this should be the role of African journalists when their code reflects the genius of African cultural values. This is because any study of democracy is the study of how journalists report and interpret political events and issues (McNair, 2000). Burgh (2005) argues that there are people who do not take part in the media simply because their communities are cut off or out of conscious rejection. The African journalists can avoid this by reflecting on the communal political culture of African societies (Ake, 2000). And this is a political culture that demands the participation of all individuals in the promotion of common good, and people take part in it not because of their individual interests but because they are part of an interconnected whole (Njamnjoh, 2005).

The norm informed by the African values differs from the Western and Chinese developmental media norms as each comes from different socio-political and existential realities.

And more, there are differences in the epistemological and metaphysical understanding of personhood.

Western/Colonial Media Paradigm

The Western media system is an off-shoot of the Enlightenment era. Siebert et al. (1956) argue that the foundation for the libertarian press system was developed by Milton and Locke in the seventeenth century. According to Siebert et al. (1956) the sixteenth century provided the experiences while the seventeenth saw the development of the philosophical principles and the eighteenth put the principles into practice. The basic tenet of libertarianism is that man is a rational being and he is an end in himself (Siebert et al., 1956). To this end, the society exists for the happiness and wellbeing of the individual. It believes that man is capable of thinking and has the ability to organize the society to advance the interest of the individual members. Within the ambience of the theory, libertarianism recognizes the essentiality of the individual, the use of reasoning ability, and the endowment of natural rights to man which encompasses freedom of religion, speech and the press.

Benson (2008) argues that libertarianism aims to maximize individual human freedom. According to Keane (1991) Britain was the birthplace of the modern principle of liberty of the press. He further noted that John Milton clearly articulated the theological approach to the theory in his book *Areopagitica* published in 1644. For him Milton opposed state restrictions on freedom of expression because God endowed individual men and women with the faculty of reason which enabled them to make choices between good and evil in line with their conscience. He further observed that 50 years later, the political philosopher John Locke articulated another defense of the freedom of the press in which the rights of the individual should condition the

conduct of the press. Severin and Tankard (2001) contend that from the writings of Milton, Locke, and Mill the idea that the press was to serve the function of helping to discover truth and checking on government in addition to informing, entertaining and selling was born. Siebert et al. (1956) noted that the history of libertarianism from Milton to Holmes has always hinged on the principle of individual freedom and judgment as well as the belief that truth when allowed will come out victorious in any discussion. They summarized this belief in these propositions, namely, “self-righting process” and the “free market place of ideas” (p. 70).

Siebert et al. (1956) articulated the functions of the mass media under libertarian concepts to be to inform, entertain, and to provide economic support that guarantees financial independence of the press. This third function of the press will ultimately ensure freedom from government controls and domination. It is for this reason that the press under libertarian theory is “charged with the duty of keeping government from overstepping its bounds” (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 51). Benson (2008) argues that libertarian theory sees the government as the primary if not the only threat to press freedom. Within the purview of libertarian theory, as the press presents divergent views it also holds the government accountable. The synergy between the press and democracy finds expression in the libertarian model of the press. The press is essential for the development and guidance of democracy in the society. The theory recognizes the importance of multiplicity of voices in the society and allows people to make rational decisions regarding what is the truth. The literature review shows that the libertarian theory of press holds the following values:

- The press should be free and independent from government control.
- The press should safeguard individual freedom as the touchstone of democracy.

- The press should seek the truth.
- The press should promote individual civil liberties
 - The right to free expression
 - The right to know and free access to information.
- The press should promote divergent views and opinions on any issue.
- The press is the fourth estate and should hold the government accountable.
- The press should ensure that all voices are heard in the society.
- The press should be self-supporting financially and be privately owned.
- The government should have limited role in intervening in media operations and regulating conditions.
- The press should be free in the process of collecting and disseminating of information.

These values are predicated upon the notion that a press that is free from government control and guarantees individual liberty is a necessity for democracy. Nonetheless, the values embedded in the Western paradigm differ from the indigenous African values system. This is because it believes that the primary function of society is to advance the interests of its individual members (Siebert et al., 1956). And the fulfillment of the individual is the ultimate goal of man, society and the state. On the contrary, the African cultural values place the burden of importance on the community. The idea of the autonomous individual who is the goal of the society does not exist in the African society. Rather, an individual is defined in reference to the envioning community (Menkiti, 1984). The good of the community is the ultimate goal of all. The individual good is achieved through the wellbeing of the community. And so, the Western

libertarian system talks of the rights of the individual while the African cultural value system talks about the duty of the individual to the community.

Chinese Developmental Media Paradigm

Yudico (2017) noted that the Chinese government has invested a significant amount of money in communication sector in Africa. Following the Aid Data that report Chinese Development Finance project, between 2000-2013 a total number of 38 African countries received \$1.7 billion in Chinese total investments. And so, of the total investment of \$1.7 billion in Africa, the communication sector is the fifth largest sector to receive such grant from China (Yudico, 2017, p. 1). Despite the seeming positive perception towards China in Africa in the wake of the huge investments, Yudico (2017) further argues that the Chinese development model of the press may not foster a thriving and independent media system in Africa. And he argues that African countries need a thriving and independent media to enable long-term, sustainable and equitable growth.

Gagliardone, Repnikova and Stremlau (2010) argue that China has rapidly become an important player in the media sector in many African countries. They further noted that China has done so in at least three ways, namely,

First, its economic success and the impressive growth of media outlets and users within China have quietly promoted an example of how the media can be deployed within the larger political and economic strategies of developing states, moving beyond the democratization paradigm promoted in the West. Second, the Chinese government, and its associated companies, has enhanced their direct involvement in the telecommunication and media markets in Africa. Third, China's public diplomacy strategy has been stepped

up through expanding the reach and content of its international broadcasters including China Central Television-CCTV and China Radio International –CRI. (p. 1)

These three levels of Chinese engagement in Africa are further summarized by Gagliardone, Sremlau and Nkrumah (2012) as *partner*, *prototype* and *persuader*. As China plays significant role in the African media, China is also introducing its own media paradigm. The Chinese developmental media paradigm is different from the Western media model as well as the African cultural media values as it is the offshoot of an authoritarian media model. Benson (2008) discussing Nondemocratic theories of the press listed Authoritarian theory as the first theory of the press. He noted that an authoritarian theory holds that the press should be subordinate to the interests of the state. The Authoritarian theory espouses that the press should not critique government officials or challenges the established order. Within the ambience of this theory, the press is free to publish without prior censorship, the government has the right to punish erring journalists in this regard or close the media outlets (Benson, 2008). The extreme form of authoritarianism is totalitarianism which has total control over the society and press censorship.

Yen (2008) argue that the Asian media systems do not fit the press developed in the West. This is because as Hachten (1992) noted in the Soviet Union and other nations with communist ideology such as China the press is “integrated into the monolithic Communist state” (p. 68). He further noted that under the Communist ideology “news is information that serves the interests of the state that advances its goals and policies” (p. 69). Severing et al. (2001) noted that China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba are the only countries that are still following the Soviet model of the press where the press serves the wishes of the government.

Given the centrality of the state in China, Akhavan-Majid (2004) pointed out two factors that control Chinese media, namely, state and market. He observed that in China the Communist party-state is the monolithic entity that promotes market-oriented reform in China's economic base, while at the same time keeping a tight grip on the country's media and political superstructure. In other words, Communist party ideology and the market-oriented structure control the Chinese media system. Following the economic reform of 1978 in China, the media functions are not only to inform, but also to entertain and to sell (Chu, 1994).

Chinese norms are not different from the Communist system. Hachten (1992) noted that the Chinese developmental model is in some way a "straight cut of Lenin and Communist concept of the press" (p. 72). Essentially, the state and the Communist party control and direct all media. The state mobilizes the media to serve national goals of economic development and political integration and to campaign against factors that may vitiate national development (Hachten, 1992). The media being the instrument of the state propagates the ideology of the state and Communist party. This is the link between soft power and the media. The Chinese government employs the media in its work of diplomacy through the use of soft power.

Chinese media are going global at a time when the media sphere is crowded and dominated by Western media outlets (Thussu, 2018). To understand the Chinese media global thrust greater attention should be paid to the ideology and political culture of China. This is because this approach provides the linkage between the Chinese government and the media (Gagliardone et al., 2012). Thussu (2018) further argues that Chinese media presence in Africa is urged to counter the negative portrayal of the continent by the Western media. To this end, the positive reporting of Chinese media will construct a narrative that portrays China as ally of

Africa. Gagliardone et al. (2010) argue that African media practices which tend towards the Western liberal media model might not be compatible with Chinese media practices and traditions.

Thus, Hachten (1992) pointed out the principles of the developmental media theory are as follows: instruments of the media should be used by the central government to bring about the task of nation building; media should support authority and not challenge it, thus, freedom of the press can be restricted for the development needs of the society; information and truth are the properties of the state and should be used to advance national goals; individual claims of right of expression and other liberties are neglected in the face of problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy, and ethnicity in the nation; every nation has the right to restrict and control foreign journalists and the flow of news across its borders.

Severing et al. (2001) noted that the media are state-owned and state-controlled and exist only as an arm of the state to further the state. In addition, they noted that the media are controlled by the economic and political actions of the government. As it is in the Communist context, in the Chinese developmental model the media are instruments of the state. Hachten (1992) pointed out that in the Communist system the role of the media is to be the “agitator, propagandist and organizer” (p. 67). Gagliardone et al. (2010) argue that the media undoubtedly play an important role in ensuring the success of China’s soft power. To this end, Chinese authorities attach great importance to strategies of gaining international influence, and the media are an essential part of this, in an effort to capture international audiences and remedy the Western negative coverage of China’s engagement with the world (Gagliardone et al., 2010). In the People’s Republic of China, private ownership of newspapers was allowed in the 1980s on a

limited level as well as tolerating criticism especially when the criticism is about individuals or local policies that work against the goals of nation building (Severin et al., 2001).

In the Chinese developmental media theory the primacy of the individual's freedom and the essentiality of its happiness are subsumed under the primacy of the state. The state is the embodiment of the Communist party. This is different from the African cultural value system that places emphasis on the community. The Chinese developmental media model's primacy of the state is an ideology that is top-down and does not flow from the culture of the people but only as a political ideology. On the other hand, the indigenous communication practices and traditions of African primacy of the community well up from bottom-up and it is the core of African social values. The following are the values in the developmental media codes of ethics extracted from the literature especially from Hachten (1992).

- The state is an absolute power
- The state controls all instruments of mass communication for the task of nation-building.
- The media should support authority and not to challenge it.
- There is no place for dissent or criticism of the government (state).
- Truth is the property of the state.
- The flow of information in the society is from top-down (from the state to the citizens).
- All information should be utilized to further national goals.
- Individual rights and other civil liberties are irrelevant in the face of national problems.

- Individual well-being and happiness are subsumed under the primacy of the well-being of the state.
- It is the state that guarantees individual rights and privileges.

These values are antithetical to the values of the Afro-communitarian codes of ethics. A crucial distinction exists between Afro-communitarian values and the Chinese developmental values and this can be found in their understanding of the individual- relational dynamics to the community and the state. In the African understanding priority is given to the community in a reciprocal manner to the individual member of the community, while in the Chinese understanding priority is given to the state in a non-reciprocal manner to the individual member of the state. The state is the absolute power that emasculates the individual member. The impact of these normative influences within the African media ecosystem shows itself further in the professionalization of African media. These are different strings pulling African media professionalism in different directions as seen in the effect of the Western media paradigm as well as the Chinese developmental media paradigm on the African media professionalization process.

Professionalism and the State of African Journalism

Becker and Vlad (2011) argue that an occupation is often compared with the ideal type, a profession. And so, professionalism could be said to be the goal of any occupation. Given the difference between an ‘amateur’ and a ‘professional’, Freidson (1994) argues that the amateur is “one who performs a given set of tasks without conscious and calculating concern for their exchange value in the market, and the ‘professional’ as one who performs them in a contracted market exchange by which he gains his living” (pp. 108-109). He further argues that the word

‘profession’ is the synonym of both ‘occupation’ and ‘vocation’, and both have the same meaning in German and French languages. And so, describing the difference in meaning and usage, he submits that “performing market-related labor for one’s living is one’s professional vocation, while performing labor unconnected with a market is one’s amateur avocation” (p. 109).

Abbott (1988) noted the centrality of abstract knowledge in the definition of profession. For him the abstract knowledge requires extensive training that is not applied in a purely routine fashion, but requires a case by case application. And this gives the profession autonomy. This autonomy occasions control of the abstract knowledge. According to Abbott (1988) there are two ways a profession exercises control – it is either by controlling the technique or the use of the craft and the control of the abstraction that results in practical technique (medicine). The relevance of abstract knowledge to a profession is that it guarantees competitive advantage. This is because “...only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems” (Abbott, 1988, p. 9).

Evetts (2012) argues that professionalism interpreted as occupational or normative value is something that deserves preserving and promoting in work and by and for workers. And this understanding of professionalism links it to occupational value as well as ideological interpretation. Drechsel (2000) argues that professionalism can be seen as the ideology and associated activities in an occupational group whose members aspire to professional status. Professionalism is important as it is used in occupational recruitment campaigns, in company mission statements and organizational aims and objectives to motivate employees (Evetts, 2012). Thus, he further argues that the concept of professionalism has an appeal to and for practitioners,

employees and managers in the development and maintenance of work identities, career decisions and sense of self (p. 4).

Evetts (2012) contends that both British and American sociologists agree that the concept of professionalism is important as it works for the stability and civility of social systems. This is because professionals are the source of specialized knowledge that is required for the stability of social organization (institutions). This is because the occupational value of professionalism is based on “trust, competence, a strong occupational identity and cooperation” (Evetts, 2012, p. 4). He submits that these occupational values are guaranteed by education, training and sometimes by licensing.

Scholars have identified the essential developmental steps of an occupation to become a profession (Larson, 2013; Evetts, 2012; Becker et al., 2011; Abbot, 1988; Wilensky, 1964). Many of these scholars in their developmental steps of professions are in line with Becker et al. (2011) developmental steps of a profession are supposedly as follows: establishment of schools for admission; formation of professional associations; the regulation of the practice of the profession through legal protection; adoption of codes of ethics; and embodiment of a special service orientation to the society. In line with this idea, Christians et al. (2009) noted that professionalism in media occupations is defined by having a university degree based on training in a systematic science of communication, and that knowledge of continued research on communication problems is a significant reference point for evaluating the media world normatively. Becker et al. (2011) further argue that “education thus becomes an essential prerequisite for entry into occupations that are labeled as professions, and occupations that are seeking to become professions give prominence to training.” (p. 252).

Abbott (1988) argues that jurisdictional claims furnish the impetus and the pattern for organizational development. The jurisdictional claims of a profession are maintained through training and socialization in a given profession. To this end, Larson (2013) argues for the proper training of professionals if their products or commodities are to be given a distinctive form. She further argues that professionals must be adequately trained and socialized so as to provide recognizably distinct services for exchange on the professional market. Drechsel (2000) argues that professionalism is a matter of degree in terms of attributes such as degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; orientation to community interest rather than self-interest; degree of self-control through internalized codes of ethics and voluntary associations controlled by work specialists themselves and degree of reward that is both monetary and honorary. These elements though normative in character are core attributes of professions and journalism possess them as the basis of its professionalism. It should be noted, however, that the level of professionalism of journalism is debatable.

African media scholars have noted the establishment of schools of journalism and mass communication in Africa (Banda, Beukes-Amiss, Bosch, Mano, McLean, & Steenveld, 2007; Ndlela, 2009; Salawu, 2009; Skjerdal, 2011; Uche, 1991). The framework of training of African journalistic curricula shows lack of knowledge-based training in the realities of the continent. Skjerdal (2011) argues for the necessity of local knowledge as it is mandatory for journalistic performance. To this end, some African media scholars have raised concern regarding the way journalism is taught and researched in Africa as it is a reproduction of Western ideologies instead of a scholarly and vocational practice that is in harmony with African ideology and conditions (James, 1990; Okigbo, 1987). Golding (1977) argues that the professionalization of the Third

world was in reality a transfer of Western ideology. In line with this idea, Uche (1991) argues that there is overwhelming evidence of prevalence of external ideological influence of African's former colonial overloads in most of the African mass media system.

Schiffrin (2011), despite arguing that journalism training is important in the ability of journalism to fulfill its basic missions identifies lack of resources in the training of African journalist. She noted that there is lack of equipment, laptops, and digital tape recorders in these journalism training schools. And more, she noted that the training is based on a Western media paradigm and lacks knowledge of African traditions. Similarly, other media scholars have noted the effects of the lack of resources in these training schools as hampering the professionalism of the African media (Gade et al., 2017; Njamnjoh, 2005). To this end, Kasoma (1999) argues that the lack of professional training for African journalism is the cause of bad journalism in Africa. To solve this problem, media scholars in Africa argue that African journalists need to be acquainted with new technologies in news gathering, processing and dissemination as well as grasping the ethical implications of using these technologies (Ocheing, 1992; Pratt, 1994). This is where adaptation is necessary in African media professionalism.

Given the role of a code of ethics and professional association in the professionalism of journalism, Njamnjoh (2005) argues that in the African context the presence of unions and associations with written codes promising to respect ethical ideals and foster professionalism does not seem to be working. The reason is that as Blin (1993) and Kunczik (1999) argue these codes of ethics and professional values are Western-derived international codes and their concerns are basically ethical issues relevant to the West alone. And so, Njamnjoh (2005) noted

the “lack of cohesive and enforceable cultural policies capable of providing local alternatives to inherited colonial values” (p. 90).

Thus, Kasoma (1996) argues that the professionalism of African media entails a paradigm shift from money-and-power-centered journalism which is Western to journalism that is society-centered that is rooted in traditional African communal values. This is the core and basic argument of the ‘Afriethics’ he proposed. He agrees to the notion that journalism should be based on ethical tenets of the society it serves. Such a journalism he advocated is one that believes that “the need for common good for the community is greater than any other concern or interest” (Njamnjoh, 2005, p. 90).

To this end, Njamnjoh (2005) articulates the position of Kasoma (1996) in developing the professionalism of African media as based on African ethical values to entail the following:

First, journalists must take the basis of morality in their practice ‘the fulfillment of obligations to society and to the journalistic corps’ by seeking to solve communal problems rather than create them. Secondly, they must ‘develop a deep sense of right and wrong so that they are able to feel guilty for behaving unethically and try and correct colleagues who falter in their journalistic performance. Third, ‘there is need for dialogue among media people so that the practice of mass communication becomes a democratic and participatory one drawing its strength from the African cultural heritage’ Fourth, journalism must be seen as ‘a communal profession in which the wrongs of individual journalist have a capacity to tarnish the image of everyone who practices it’. Fifth, ‘the ethicality of the individual acts of journalist should be first and foremost measured against whether or not they serve the wider community and journalism profession. If they

do not, there is every likelihood they are unethical'. Sixth, 'erring journalists or media houses should, in the true African spirit, be counseled by the other journalist to behave well and not be immediately condemned as misfits in the 'family' of African journalism'. Seventh, the journalists must cultivate a deep sense of solidarity and oneness of voice. Only in this way can African journalism 'put its house in order.' (pp. 90-91)

Recognizing the dynamic reality of African society after the colonial era, Njamnjoh (2005) argues that there is need to keep redefining African culture in the face of new experience and contacts with other peoples and cultures. For this to happen he advocated for "creative adoption of global influences and the rehabilitation of the best elements of mainstream cultures of Africa that are victims of marginalization and unfair competition" (p. 91). Thus, Western influences cannot be ignored completely as its effects on African society are real but there is need to adapt it to the cultural reality of the African society today where necessary.

Njamnjoh (2005) argues that professionalism, training and ethics are cardinal to journalism. Nasidi (2016) submits that ethics in journalism is a symbol of morals that journalists are supposed to uphold. Thus, Ekeanyanwu and Obianigwe (2012) argue that journalism is a profession and a vocation that is founded on ethical principles which direct and regulate the conduct of the practitioner. And so, Nasidi (2016) argues that there is need for rules that will guide journalism practice. This is because ethics is important in every profession as it serves as source of guidance against excesses by members of such profession (Ibbi, 2016). McQuail (2000) argues that "A journalistic codes of ethics refers to a set of principles of professional conduct that are adopted and controlled by journalists themselves" (p. 151). The code of ethics

reflects the values that journalists claim to be their guidelines in the process of gathering and dissemination of news as well as the professionalism of the job.

Relevance of Codes of Ethics to Professionalism

McQuail (2000) noted that the process of codifying journalistic practice began in America before even the Hutchins Committee Report of 1947, as reflected in the Canons of Journalism published by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923. He further argues that the undertaking of codifying journalistic practice reveals the process of professionalization of journalism. The content of the code underscores what journalism ought to be doing (McQuail, 2000). For this reason, McQuail (2000) noted that codes constitute a form of normative theory.

Normative theory informs the code of ethics that guide the practice of the service to the society. And it gives moral legitimacy to the identity and action of various communities of interest (Christians et al., 2009). Christians et al. (2009) argue that a code of ethics is derived from an underlying normative theory and has legitimacy only in terms of a much broader social morality. The nexus between code of ethics and normative theory underscores the cultural values from the social milieu in which the profession is practiced. To this end, McQuail (2000) argues that there are many different codes that reflect differences in the conventions and traditions of the country concerned. He contends that codes are nearly always national in formulation although there is the recognition of some universal significance of news in world affairs.

Laitila (1995) noted that there are over 30 national codes of ethics for journalism in force in Europe. McQuail (2000) argues that despite the existence of different codes of ethics there appear to be some common ground accepted as the appropriate standards. He agrees with Laitila (1995) who in her study of 31 journalistic codes of ethics representing 29 countries found most

common principles of truthfulness of information, prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, fair means in gathering information, integrity of the source and the journalist, and freedom of expression and comment. She argues that the most common functions of codes in Europe are to show accountability to the public, to the sources, to the state, to the employers and to protect the professional integrity of journalists from outside influence.

Nevertheless, Himelboim and Limor (2011) in their analysis of 242 codes of ethics in 94 countries to exam journalism's social role as understood by media organizations found a consistent perception of journalistic role around the world and across the media organizations to be neutral, detached from society and defensive but not antagonistic to government. This is partly because media organizations play a major role in framing these roles. In a similar study about comparative international analysis of 242 codes of ethics to discover the level of concern for freedom of the press by journalists and media organizations, Himelboim and Limor (2008) found that the level of press freedom in respective countries does not correlate with the level of concern about freedom that journalists express regarding their freedom. But the codes of developing countries show more concern about the fundamental freedom of everybody. Hafez (2002) in his comparative study of codes of ethics of journalists in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Muslim Asia found a consensus across cultures that the standard of truth and objectivity should be central values of journalism. However, this study equally shows clear differences in the importance given to freedom of expression between the West and many Islamic countries.

Thus, codes of ethics tend towards guiding the ethical behavior of members and employees in the case of companies in their daily activities (Hoo & Yeing, 2010). Christians et

al. (2009) argue that “A code of professional ethics is a group’s attempt to set norms for its own members, but also to tell other actors that the group’s practices are not personal interests but follow moral principles” (p. 77). To this end, they further argue that the moral obligations of the profession are defined in terms of code of ethics or sets of informal principles. Moral legitimacy finds expression in the moral identity of a given profession that represents a community of values, experience, and expertise that help the profession to fulfill its obligations to the society. Serwornoo (2018) argues that formal codes of ethics provide one sure avenue for the journalists to regulate their own practice.

Weaver (1993) and Mathews (1987) argue that measuring the effectiveness of codes could be problematic as there are mixed results. However, there are studies that have shown the effectiveness of codes of ethics. Erwin (2010) in his study investigated the importance of code content to show its effectiveness by examining the relationship between the code quality and ethical performance. The result found that code quality plays an important role in the effectiveness of the code and its ability to transform organizational cultures. McKinney, Emerson and Neubert (2010) with samples drawn from over 2800 business professionals found that employees from firms with codes of ethics are less likely to accept ethically questionable behaviors than those from firms without codes of ethics. Similarly, Stevens (2008) in reviewing corporate ethical codes published since 2000 found that codes of ethics can be effective instruments for shaping ethical behavior as well as guiding employee decision-making.

The effectiveness of codes of ethics suggests the importance of it in developing countries such as in Africa. Serwornoo (2018) argues that the commitment of journalists in developing countries to self-regulate is crucial for the development of the media in Africa. This is because

professionals provide the specialized knowledge required for a stable society to function, and as such they need the autonomy to act on their knowledge and self-regulate their professional conduct. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that being professional and ethical is the sure way for the media in Africa to regain public trust and respect, and contribute greatly in the democratization of Africa.

Despite the importance of codes of ethics to professionalism, the codes do not ensure professional conduct. Njamnjoh (2005) argues that the adoption of codes of ethics has not improved the profession in Africa. He noted reasons for the lack of improvement of the profession even in the existence of codes of ethics in Africa as follows:

Adopting codes of conduct has not necessarily resulted in better professional standards; the codes adopted have shown little creativity on the part of African journalists in terms of reflecting the concerns and interests of the majority of Africans; and the debates on and around ethics have done little to embrace the idea of African identity as a dynamic and hybrid reality. (p. 98)

Kasoma (1996) further noted that the codes of ethics are more or less initiatives supported by Western NGOs and institutions. And all too often these codes of ethics bear their influence. McQuail (2000) argues that there is influence of different parties reflected in the codes of ethics, namely, publishers, editors, journalists or an external regulatory body. Serwornoo (2018) argues that there are external influences in the formulation of codes of ethics in African countries especially foreign agencies serving as donors to the media professional association in Africa. Thus, he submits that “...during the formulation of a code of ethics, these agents have rather imposed their values as best practices and standards” (p. 3). This is in line with the submission

made by Kasoma (1996) in arguing that these codes of ethics do not address the concerns and interests of majority of Africans.

Serwornoo (2018) concludes that African codes of ethics are simply a reproduction of codes of ethics from North America and Europe. And the code of ethics do not take into consideration the context and the unique conditions as well as the value systems of these African developing countries. It is not surprising that most codes of ethics in developing African countries do not adequately tackle ethical breaches in the profession of journalism in Africa (Hamelink, cited in Serwornoo, 2018).

In summary, Nerone (2012) argues that journalism is a system of belief that defines the suitable practices and values of news professionals, news media, and news systems. He further argues that every society has its own sort of news system. Thus, normative theory is based on the principles of media ethics which are mainly concerned with journalism (Fourie, 2017). The purpose of normative theory is to develop a standard against which media performance, accountability and quality could be measured in order to contribute to the development and sustainability of democracy (Fourie, 2017; McQuail, 2000). And it is influenced and informed by social values of the society that gives birth to them. Siebert et al. (1956) in their book *Four Theories of the Press* gave the structured typology of the theory, namely, authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet communist. This research work concentrates on the Libertarian and developmental models as well as the African cultural influences on media norms. The influence of a libertarian Western model and the Chinese developmental model on African media ecosystem brings a mix to the development of African media professionalism. The development of African media professionalism depends on tailoring education, training,

professional associations and adoption of a code of ethics of journalism towards the realization of African socio-cultural values and the needs of the African society.

Summary of Colonial and Neocolonial Influences and Research Questions

Africa as a continent had her political structure, value system and civilization before the advent of Europeans in Africa. Kieh (1992) argues that prior to the imposition of colonialism Africa had developed a thriving cultural system, namely, languages, dress, music and arts, etc. African cultural system informs the values of the African people. Rodney (1972) argues that culture is the total way of life of a people as it embraces what people eat, dress, walk, mode of communication and their outlook on death and life. Murdock (1967) argues that there was significant heterogeneity in political centralization across African ethnic groups before colonization. He further noted centralized administration and hierarchical organization such as the Shongai Empire in Western Africa, the Luba kingdom in Central Africa, and the kingdoms of Buganda and Ankole in Eastern Africa. African pre-colonial history scholars have noted the existence of political centralization that has had impact even on contemporary levels of development within Africa (Fensker, 2014; Gennaioli & Rainer, 2007; Green & Randyopadhyah, 2016; Michalopoulos & Papaianou, 2015, 2013). Among others, Reynal-Querol and Besley (2013) argue that before the coming of colonial powers Africa was divided into a patchwork of tribal structures and proto-states (historical kingdoms) with heterogeneous political systems. And so, African political structure in the pre-colonial period was tribal (community). Rodney (1972) argues that the community is the center of life in Africa as everything revolves around the community including land and labor. Rodney (1972) further argues that the relations which develop within any given social group are important to understanding of the society as a whole.

Thus, he noted that “Freedom, responsibility, skill, have real meaning only in terms of the relations of men in society” (p. 3). And the African case is not different.

However, from the nineteenth century the history of Africa was more or less a history of external influences. Meredith (2011) argues that during the Scramble for Africa at the end of the 19th century, European powers claimed virtually the entire continent. Furthermore, he noted that at meetings in Berlin, Paris, London and other capitals, European statesmen and diplomats bargained over the separate spheres of interest and influence they intended to establish in Africa. Kieh (1992) argues that major Western Powers have continued to maintain cultural hegemony on the African continent through a web of socialization agents –education, ideology, culture and the mass media. Through the processes of assimilation and diffusion Africans have been made to accept the supremacy of the Western value system and its attendant world view, and to denigrate their own. Kieh (1992) submits that these conditioning mechanisms transformed Africans into “Western beings” both in terms of their value system and their world outlook. Traber (1989) argues that if one examines African media products to see how rooted they are in African values and traditions; one would find foreign bodies in the cultural fabric of Africa.

Against the backdrop of external influences in Africa, Xiang (2018) argues that China needs Africa to emerge from semi-periphery to center as much as Africa needs China to transit from periphery to semi-periphery. Moyo, Yeros and Jha (2012) argue that the global competition for Africa’s land and natural resources is still in full swing. They further argue that China’s speedy growing investment as well as trade with Africa since the dawn of the 2000s is seen as the propelling force of the new form of scramble in Africa. Gagliardone et al. (2012) provided empirically grounded assessment of China’s increasing role not only in the media sphere but also

in Africa in general. They assess China's role in Africa from the lens of *partner*, *prototype* and *persuader*. Thus, they pointed out:

The potential appeal of the Chinese approach to information regulation for the countries struggling to balance development and risks of potential stability (*prototype*); the direct intervention of Chinese companies in the media and telecommunication sectors through the provision of loans, equipment and technical expertise (*partner*); and the stepping up of China's public diplomacy strategy through the expansion of international broadcasters and the increase of exchange and training programs targeting African citizens (*persuader*). (p. 175)

Through these frameworks China shores up her image in Africa and advances her interest. The effectiveness of this method is the use of soft power that unleashes the sphere of influence of China in Africa in a most subtle manner. Wasserman (2014) argues that the study of the role of China's media in Africa should be not be seen one-dimensionally as a form of 'soft power' alone, but as part of broader engagements between the two entities that include formal and informal, political and economic, strategic and everyday interactions. This has ideological and economic underpinning that characterizes Chinese state use of media as an instrument of influence.

Ighobor (2013) argues that while China invests capital and technology in infrastructure, African countries in return offer China natural resources and access to local markets. Thus, Xiang (2018) argues that along with the increasing economic influence of China in Africa as well as the growth of China's state media in Africa there is a growing concern regarding this phenomenon. This is as a result of the relation between China's state media and the Chinese

government as the media functions as a diplomatic arm of the government in promoting the soft power of China (Wu, 2014; Zhang, Yanqui, Simom & Matingwina, 2016). Zhao (2012) argues that major media outlets are organizationally affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and government institutions, and the state has the power to appoint media officials. In this effort, Xiang (2018) recognizes the role of China Central Television (CCTV) as well as other Chinese media outlets in Africa in their political, economic and cultural domination role and influence in Africa. And so, Xiang (2018) argues that CCTV as well as other Chinese media in Africa has shown a different reporting style from traditional Western critical journalists' *modus operandi*. And this is a new style of positive reporting.

Given the existence of multiple influences in the African media ecosystem the professionalism of African media to serve democracy is necessary. Domatob (1988) argues that the reality of colonial and neo-colonial influences in Africa's media can be seen in media technology and practice. Thus, he further noted that the media in Africa foster neo-colonialism through training, advertising, news, technology. To this end, Kasoma (1996) criticizes African journalists for imitating the professional norms of the West which they see as the best form of journalism. To professionalize African journalism and to make it relevant to the African context, Kasoma (1996) argues that African journalists should start looking into their own culture and precedents for inspiration instead of the West. This is because as Traber (1989) argues communication is part of culture, and in some ways it is culture in process. Thus, Nyamnjoh (2005) makes a case for African journalism by joining Kasoma (1996) to argue that African journalism should move away from money and power-centered journalism to a society-centered journalism that is rooted in traditional African communal values. Kasoma (1996) and Njamnjoh

(2005) share the view that journalism should be practiced in line with the ethical tenets of the society it serves.

To examine these influences on African media, the study of African journalistic codes of ethics becomes important. This is because as Wilkins and Brennen (2004) argue “...scholarly study of codes can provide insight into the specific stresses and strains on the profession” (p. 299). And more, they contend that journalistic codes of ethics serve as one marker for a profession, “the domain of the lived” within a particular period (Wilkins et al., 2004, p. 299). Thus, Nassanga (2008) argues that any discussion on journalism ethics should take into account the local environment in which these codes are supposed to be applied as well as to whom are supposed to apply. Herrscher (2002) argues that a successful journalistic performance grows from the culture, values, and the expectations of its own society. Based on these understandings the following research questions are posed:

Content Analysis Questions

- RQ 1: What are the values exhibited in the various codes of ethics of journalism of Sub-Saharan African countries?
- RQ 2 a: To what extent do these values reflect Western media values?
- RQ 2 b: To what extent do these values reflect Chinese developmental media values?
- RQ 2 c: To what extent do these values reflect African media values?
- RQ 3: What functions of the media are exhibited in Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics?
- RQ 4: What are the professional self-regulatory mechanisms in the Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics?

Interview Questions

- RQ 5: What normative influences are important in the day-to-day experiences of journalists in your country?
- RQ6: How are the codes enforced in your country? And how are they not enforced?
- RQ7: To what extent is China seen as a partner, persuader and prototype in your work as a journalist, as well as, in other sectors?

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

This study utilized sequential explanatory design of mixed methods (Quantitative-Qualitative-explanation (analysis). It is called sequential as it depicts the phases the study will follow. Creswell (1994) describes this technique as “dominant-less dominant design.” Creswell and Plano Clark (2010) noted that this methodological technique combines quantitative and qualitative method into one method, within the same study. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) observed that the mixed method is a third methodological movement that involves quantitative and qualitative methods. Snelson (2016) utilized this method in social media research to identify trends in qualitative and mixed methods. Furthermore, Li, Worch, Zhou and Aguiton (2015) applied the method to examine the current technology usage of digital generation student-teachers and the impact of possible internal and external barriers to their use of technology.

Li et al. (2015) noted that the method includes initial quantitative method and the follow-up qualitative interviews with the priority on quantitative phase. They noted that the qualitative results helped to explain the initial quantitative results and build better understanding of the quantitative findings (p. 2). For this reason, Bowen, Rose and Pilkington (2017) argue that the method combines quantitative and qualitative data within a single study complementing each other by integrating their strengths (Green & Caracelli, 1997; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Following “A hierarchy of influences model” developed by Shoemaker and Reese (1996, 2014) that studied factors that shape media content from macro to micro, other institutional issues and larger social-systems etc. (Reese, 2016), this study in particular was interested in the institutional issues and larger social systems as they affected professional media development in

Sub-Saharan Africa. The institutional issues and the social systems that affected the professional development of the media in Africa were addressed in the RQs 4 and 7. And these questions were answered in the interview with board of directors of the primary professional journalism association in each of the exemplar country. This is in the phase two of the research method. The advantage of the hierarchy of influences model is that it provides a theoretical basis for studying influences on media “based on levels of analysis, which help classify influences operating both separately and in conjunction with each other” (Reese, 2001, p. 178). This research, however, was not testing the ‘hierarchy of influences model’ but rather utilized it as a guide to understanding the hierarchy of influences on the African media. The research studied factors at several levels of the hierarchy of influences model, namely, ideological, external influences and professional. The ideological and the external influences are the most powerful ‘level of analyses in the hierarchy of influences model. This is because other levels tend toward the ideological pattern on behalf of the higher power in the society (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In essence, the model provided a theoretical framework for understanding the reason the study examined the ideological and external influences on the African media because they were stronger influences than routine and organizational levels of influences. Therefore, this study looked at the media in Africa from the macro level perspective of media institution, system and society at large.

The aim of this method was to combine the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research (Alhojailan, 2012; Griffin & Ragin, 1994) in examining factors that impact African media norms as well as the effects on the professionalization of the African media. The study was done in two separate phases.

Phase 1: Quantitative

The quantitative phase of the study content analyzed the professional journalism codes of ethics in Sub-Saharan Africa accessed on Donald W. Reynolds Journalism Institute website of the University Of Missouri School Of Journalism (<http://rjionline.org>). The purpose was to examine and highlight normative influences of the normative powers of the West and China as well as the competing African values within the codes. The findings demonstrated and explained that Western values were the norms that shaped the development of the media profession in Sub-Saharan Africa. The content analysis focused on the journalism codes of ethics of the 48 Sub-Saharan African countries. However, four codes of ethics of four countries, namely, Cabo Verde, Guinea-bissau, Lesotho and Mauritania were not available on the website. The individual codes of ethics of these countries: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tóme and Príncipe, South Sudan and Madagascar were not available on the website of Donald W. Reynolds Journalism Institute. For this reason, in the absence of the individual codes their regional journalism codes of ethics to which these countries signed as regional members was used.

Content Analysis

A focus of communication research has been on communication content (Riffle, Lacy & Fico, 2005). Many researchers have articulated the meaning of this method in various ways. Krippendorff (2004) noted that researchers utilize content analysis to study “texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meaning” (p. 13). For this reason, Krippendorff (1989) defines content analysis as “... a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.” (p. 403). Babbie (2000)

observed that this method is “the study of recorded human communications” (p. 305). Content analysis is a systematic research method that examines symbolic content in communication by way of recording or transcribing these contents into categories (Berelson, 2000; Stemler, 2001). Lacy, Watson, Riffle and Lovejoy (2015) pointed out that content analysis is a principal method in communication research. Lacy, Watson, Riffle and Lovejoy (2014) defined content analysis as

The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its measuring, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (p. 19)

Content analysis could be quantitative and qualitative. And both make use of communication content. The centrality of the method to communication research could be seen in the number of research publications where content analysis was used. Lacy et al. (2015) reported that of the 2,534 articles they studied in 2014 from *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Journal of Communication*, and *Communication Monographs* between 1985 and 2010, 23% of them used content analysis.

Krippendorff (1989) argues that content analysis originally belongs to communication research but it has become one of the most important research methods in the social sciences. Krippendorff (1989) noted that other methods are concerned with observing stimuli and responses, interpreting manifest behaviors, understanding individual qualities, evaluating social conditions and testing hypotheses informed by these projections, content analysis on the other hand, goes beyond the immediate observable physical means of communication and relies on

their symbolic characteristics to find the antecedents, correlates, or outcome of communications, and so, makes the unobtrusive context of data analyzable.

Krippendorff (1989) noted that the strength of this method lies in the fact it analyzes data from the specific context in line with the meanings individuals, a group or a culture ascribe to them. However, one the weaknesses of the content analysis stem from the fact if the categories are obtained from the same material that is being analyzed, such findings reasonably are not going to be generalizable beyond the given data (Krippendorff, 1989).

In noting the data for content analysis, Krippendorff (1989) observes that "... data appropriate for content analysis are texts to which meanings are conventionally attributed: verbal discourse, written documents, and visual representations" (p. 404). Journalistic codes of ethics are written documents that fall into the category of texts to which meanings are conventionally attributed.

Codes of Ethics

Cooper (1989) pointed out the value of codes of ethics in media studies. He noted that the most useful evidence of representative conscious communication ethics is the media code. Krippendorff (1989) argues that anything that occurs in plentiful numbers (i.e., articles of the codes of ethics) and has reasonably consistent meaning attached to it for a specific group of people can be subjected to content analysis. Cooper (1989) pointed out the fivefold value of media codes of ethics in media studies, namely, a code of ethics is concrete, it is representative, focused, intentional and has some degree of meaning. For this reason, Cooper (1989) contended that codes of ethics and neither the reports of press councils nor declarations of international

organizations, nor theories of subconscious universals, have been chosen for the empirical instruments in studies such as this research.

It is important to point out that codes of ethics in line with Cooper's (1989) idea in this study represented the media institution as well as the media professional in Sub-Saharan Africa. This is because "the mission of a code of ethics is specifically to delineate some measure of universal ethical principles and practices consistently throughout the universe to which it applies" (Cooper, 1989, p. 21). And codes of ethics are sources of actual influence in human behaviors as they are suggestive of the altruistic ideals of a profession as well as the authors and those they represent (Cooper, 1989). In addition, the codes are written by the professionals themselves.

To examine the influences on the Sub-Saharan African media, the study of African journalistic codes of ethics was used. This is because as Wilkins and Brennen (2004) argue "...scholarly study of codes can provide insight into the specific stresses and strains on the profession" (p. 299). And more, they contend that journalistic codes of ethics serve as one marker for a profession, "the domain of the lived" within a particular period. Thus, Nassanga (2008) argues that any discussion of journalism ethics should take into account the local environment in which these codes are supposed to be applied as well as to whom they are supposed to apply. Herrscher (2002) argues that a successful journalistic performance grows from the culture, values, and the expectations of its own society.

Targeted Population

The targeted population for this study came from 44 Sub-Saharan Africa countries. Kaplinsky, McCormick and Morris (2007) used the term "Sub-Saharan Africa" to examine the

impact of China on Sub-Saharan Africa. They pointed out three areas of interaction, namely, trade, foreign investment and aid in the involvement of China in Sub-Saharan Africa. The term *Sub-Saharan* is used to designate the area of the African continent which lies south of the Sahara Desert. The United Nations Statistics Division (2005) used the designation in its Millennium Development Goal Indicators Database. Bourgault (1995) noted that Sub-Saharan African countries “were all colonized by one of great imperial powers of Great Britain or France, or one of the lesser powers: Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy, or Spain.” (p. 1). Okiya (2019) noted that Africa is divided into two regions, North and South, with the North predominantly Arab. According to him the South has the largest population with estimated 70 per cent of the population of the entire continent. He further noted that “This area lies South of the Sahara Desert. It is also referred to as Sub-Saharan Africa.” (Okiya, 2019, p. ix). The focus of this study the Sub-Saharan Africa “...has an area of 24.3 million square meters, comprising forty-two countries and six island nations divided into four regions: Central Africa, Eastern Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa.” (Okiya, 2019, p. ix). According to Bourgault (1995) Sub-Saharan Africa countries geographically “stretch from the fringes of the Sahara through the rain forests of Central Africa to the Southern edge of the Kalahari desert.” (p. 1).

Okiya (2019) argues that some scholars maintain that these four regions (Central, East, South and West) have similarities in religio-cultural and philosophical worldview with the exception of Somalia. Kirwen (2011) opines that it is this shared cultural knowledge that forms the basis of the cosmic and spiritual unity of more than half a billion of the African people. Rodney (1972) pointed out a broad community where cultural, ethnic and geographic resemblances were discernible in the continent of Africa south of the great Saharan desert.

Secondly, Sub-Saharan African is chosen for this study because “Most sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries are erstwhile colonies of either Britain or France” (Njoh, 2000, p. 161). The literature review demonstrates the distinction between the colonial strategies of these two former colonial powers (Khapoya, 1998; Davison, 1989; Mazrui, 1983; Hailey, 1957). Njoh (2000) argues that British promoted a decentralized system of governance called the indirect rule strategy by using indigenous African institutions in the administration of British colonial policy, while the French promoted a centralized system of governance called the direct rule strategy which involves the concentration of all colonial decision making in Paris.

Sampling

Macnamara (2005) pointed out that the simplest form of selecting content for analysis is a census, and that is the selection of all units in the sampling frame. The study utilized a census sampling. This is because the sampling frame is a collection of codes of ethics from the Reynolds Institute that includes the codes from all the 48 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Krippendorff (2004) noted that this sample is used when a complete set of texts is to be used as data for content analysis. He argues that “Because it is complete, the analysts have no need to expand the number of texts by snowballing, and if the set of texts is manageable in size, they have no need to reduce it by using relevance or random sampling.” (p. 120). This sampling was appropriate to the research because it involved the study of codes of ethics from 44 different countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Ajays and Micah (2014) pointed out that this sampling is used when the entire population is used as the sample as is the case with this study of the 48 codes of ethics for journalists of the Sub-Saharan African countries. They further noted that it eliminates sampling error and provides data on all the individuals in the population. And above all, it

achieves a desirable level of precision as the entire population will have to be sampled (Ajays et al., 2014).

The sampling units of analysis for the study were the preambles and articles of the entire codes of ethics of the professional journalism association of each of the 44 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and not other codes of ethics from other media professions. Krippendorff (1989) noted that sampling units make possible the drawing of a statistically representative sample from a population of available data. The code of ethics is the chosen sampling units and it is “representative of the organization of the symbolic phenomena under investigation” (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 406).

Conceptualization and Operationalisation

To examine the influences on the Sub-Saharan Africa and their impact on the professionalization of the Sub-Saharan African media, the researcher conceptualized their influences as *news values*. News values have been used in media studies to examine the different normative roles of the media in many parts of the world. Robie (2013) utilized news values to study the ‘four worlds’, namely, the first world (the West); second world (China); third world (India); and the fourth world (indigenous people). Palmer (2000) noted that news values work as “a system of criteria which are used to make decisions about the inclusion and exclusion of material” (p. 45). News values are underpinned by the ideology of the media paradigm media institutions operate. Palmer (2000) argues that news values are not a unified entity because they are divided by medium and formats, title identity of the news organization and especially the local context within which news judgments are made.

The Western media, Chinese developmental and the African values were operationalized by their news values. The codes were content analyzed to determine the normative influences apparent in them. The Western media values came from the Enlightenment philosophy that exalted individual liberty premised on the rational endowment of man by God. It espouses the independence of the press from any government and encourages a diversity of views as the press provides a “marketplace of ideas” (Milton, 1644, p. 58). The Western news values include four dimensions: individual; truth; diversity; and freedom from government. The Chinese developmental news developed from the Communist ideology. In the Communist view a free and independent press is divisive and does not serve the interest of the state (Hachten, 1992). Hachten (1992) pointed out that in this media paradigm the press and other forms of the media are perceived as instruments as well as other institutions with which to rule. The Chinese developmental news values include four dimensions: state; nation building; conformity; and freedom for government. The African media paradigm developed from the traditional African ideology. In this framework the essence of news is for the good and development of the community. The means of communication should forge solidarity among the members of the community. The African news values include four dimensions, namely, community, solidarity, harmony, and freedom for community. These lists of values were distilled from discussion of each of these sets of values in the literature, and from the lists of bullet points presented that summarized each of the three of sets of values. Interestingly, Metz (2020) noted that the indigenous Sub-Saharan values are “characteristically communitarian, that is, they tend to prescribe the protection and promotion of harmony, cohesion, consensus, interdependence, community, clan, culture... (p. 32).

Code Book

The news values underscore the ideological framework that each of the paradigms in this study operated. The code book classified the terms of the variables of the analytical constructs chosen (Krippendorff, 1989). The process of creating codes was guided by the following principles: The codes should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and independent. The entire three sets of values comprising Western, Chinese and African were summarized in the bullet points distilled from the Literature. The news values were the central focus of the data collection because they demonstrate the presence of the various influences being studied in this research work. In the next step, the bullet points from the literature were summarized to include twelve main categories: individual, truth, and diversity, freedom from government, state, nation building, conformity, freedom for state, community, solidarity, harmony and freedom for community. Matthes and Kohring (2008) pointed out that this procedure is common in many content analytical studies because it is much easier to analyze twelve main topics (categories) developed from the literature than to take the whole body of the literature. The relationship between the categories and the research questions is that the questions explored and examined the presence of the categories in the codes of ethics analyzed.

The individual articles and preambles were the units of analysis of the entire code. The rationale for this as Kracauer (2009) noted was that “Since the analysis of a whole presupposes the analysis of its elements, we have to trace the smallest units that –either isolated or in relation to other units.” (p. 84).

The 44 sets of ethical codes were coded for the presence of the various news values being examined. The presence of each value was counted once regardless of the number of the times it

occurred in a single unit of the category of analysis in the code. Krippendorff (1989) argues that the widespread use of content analysis is to infer the importance writers, producers, media, or even whole cultures assign to particular subject-matter categories from the frequency or volumes with which such subject matter is mentioned. The process also enabled the content analyst to make inferences from large volume of data that reveal trends, patterns, and differences that is not known to the untrained individual (Krippendorff, 1989). The category of accountability was one of the functions of the media in the codes of ethics and was addressed in the RQ 3. For instance under the category of accountability to the public which was measured by three variables, namely, truthfulness of information, defense of public rights and responsibilities as creators of public opinions what was counted under each variable was the occurrence of any of the words or phrases only once. The RQ4 which examined the professional self-regulatory mechanisms in the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics was addressed by the section on self-regulation mechanisms in the codes. This category was measured by four variables of numbers language on how infractions should be addressed; language identifying accountability/punishment of infractions; training for journalists learn/develop independence professional values; and journalists' freedoms. The news values were operationalized based on their normative values in the Western, Chinese, and African media paradigms as demonstrated in the literature.

Table 1: Operationalization of normative news values

Western news values	Chinese news values	African news values
Individual The interest of the individual is the core value of news. News is one of the individual	State The interest of the state is the core value of news. News is positive and	Community The interest of the community is the core value of news. News is communal and reflects

rights such as liberty, freedom of speech and association and other rights of the individual.	reflects the achievements of the state.	personal achievements connected to the wellbeing of the community.
Western news values	Chinese news values	African news values
Truth News is to give a day-to-day account of events as they appear.	Nation-building The task of news is to build up the state.	Solidarity News is to forge social cohesion, togetherness and support in the community.
Diversity News promotes and provides a market place of ideas.	Conformity News is conformity to the authority of the state. And this cannot be challenged by the press.	Harmony News is to promote dialogue and unity.
Freedom from government News is freedom from government control of the press and the flow of information for the good of the individual.	Freedom for government News is progress and freedom for government for the purpose of development of the state.	Freedom for community News is freedom for the community for the purpose of contributing to the welfare of all people in the community.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability provides an indisputable ground for the data in content analysis. Krippendorff (2004) argues that it does so by raising the level of confidence that the data generated have conceivable precautions in place against known pollutants and biases. It equally guarantees that the data generated mean the same for everyone who uses it. And so, reliability is “the degree to which members of a designated community agree on the readings, interpretations, responses to, or uses of given texts or data” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 212). The importance of reliability in content analysis underscores the trustworthiness of the result from the data. The outcome of the reliability test indicates agreement or non-agreement on the instrument of measurement which is the codebook. This shows the rigorous process in the development of the instrument for the measurement of reliability in content analysis. To carry out the reliability test, the researchers

were required to utilize extraneous data or reliability data whose reliability was not ascertained. This material would be shared among the people chosen to be co-coders to see if they will have similar results. Reliability in content analysis is shown by a strong agreement among the coders. The inter-coder reliability test underscores the process of fine-tuning the measurement instrument in content analysis.

For this study, the reliability test was done by the random selection of 10 codes of ethics generated from the 44 journalism codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African countries. Coding for random sample of about 10 articles of codes of ethics of different Sub-Saharan African countries was undertaken before the actual content analysis, to ensure intercoder reliability since the results will be similar (Hall & Valentine 2005). This was the case after multiple training and attempts at coding until good coding with reliability data was achieved. The co-coder was trained multiple times as we could not reach at the same conclusion after several attempts. Further attempts at coding and subsequent ones yielded similar results that gave the research the confidence to proceed in the coding exercise with the co-coder.

Krippendorff and Bock (2009) agreed that two or more coders are enough provided the coding is done independently. Following the Krippendorff and Bock (2009) recommendation, two coders coded the whole 44 codes of ethics independently. There were periodic checks among the two coders to ensure consistency in the inter-coder agreement. This method is to ensure that both coders coded the same units of articles and enhance the reliability of sample size (Hall et al., 2005). The issue of inter-coder reliability or inter-coder agreement was addressed through the use of two coders in the reliability method of overlapping coding (Neuendorf, 2002).

Lacy, Watson, Riffe and Lovejoy (2015) argue that the primary aim of inter- or intracoder reliability checks is to test the reliability of the coding protocol, and the ability of the protocol to have consistent categorization of content. This enables researchers to replicate research regardless of the coders. Lacy et al. (2015) noted that content analysis requires that intercoder reliability must be tested and reported.

To measure the rate of agreement among the coders, Krippendorff's alpha was used. Krippendorff (2004a) argued that scholars rely on variables with alphas above .8 and use variables with alphas between .667 and .8 for tentative conclusions. Zapf, Castell, Morawietz and Karch (2016) noted that Krippendorff's alpha can be used not only for two or more coders and categories but also for nominal data and any measurement scale. Krippendorff (2004a) noted that $\alpha = .80$ is a good cutoff point in a research. An alpha of $\alpha = .80$ means that the researchers can attest that the data have been coded consistently by two independent coders, accounting for the likelihood they coded the same by chance, at least 80 percent of the time. Krippendorff (2011) noted that alpha is superior to Kappa as it treats coders as independent, and more, Krippendorff (2004b) argues that it is also superior to Pi because it can adjust to small sizes and can be applied to multiple coders as well as all levels of data (nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio).

For this study, the intercoder reliability agreement between the two coders was calculated using the website ReCal2 (<http://dfreelon.org/utis/recalfront/>). Reliability coefficients between the two coders for each of the variables are: Western value freedom from government, .91; Western value diversity, .93; Western value truth, .94; Western value individual, .95. Chinese values State interests, .90; nation building, .91; Chinese value conformity, .93; Chinese value public diplomacy .94. African value community, .90; African value solidarity, .93; African value

harmony, .94; African value freedom from government, .95. Preamble: Accountability to public: the value truthfulness of information, .91; value defense of public rights, .92; value responsibility creators of public opinion, .94. Accountability to sources/referents: value gathering of information, .92; presentation of information, .93; value outcomes for effects of information, .94. Accountability to the state: value respects for state institutions, .95. Accountability to the employers: value loyalty to the employer, .95; value respect to the organization, .95. Articles: the value truthfulness of information, .92; value defense of public rights, .94; value responsibility creators of public rights, .94. Accountability to sources/referents: value gathering of information, .91; value presentation of information, .93; value presentation of information, .94, value outcomes for effects of information, .95. Accountability for state institutions, .95. Accountability to state: value respect for state institutions, .95. Accountability to the employers: loyalty to the employer, .95; respect to the organization, .95. The value of infractions language, .93; accountability language, .94; training for journalists, .95; and journalists' freedom, .95.

To ensure validity of the data, the researcher developed code book, as this was the basis for measurement (Hall et al., 2005).

Wimmer and Dominick (2011) noted the importance of validity in a research as it guarantees the degree to which an instrument actually measures what it sets out to measure. Neuendorf (2002) points out the importance of at least two coders so as to reduce risks of researcher bias. This will entail that the researcher will have a training session together with the other coders to avoid confusion and misunderstanding that would undermine the validity of the research (Hall et al., 2005). In addition, Wimmer et al. (2011) said that such training will ensure that accurate data are gathered through proper training of coders.

Analysis and Interpretation

Frequencies were used in order to capture the amount of news values of a given media paradigm, in this way the codes answered the research questions. For example the RQ1 was purely descriptive as it answered and showed the news values present in the codes in a general sense. Wimmer et al. (2011) point out that the descriptive result will give meaning or the importance of the result. This was done through the use of SPSS and Excel software. The analysis and interpretation were used to find out the various values found in the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African countries to the extent these values reflect Western, African and Chinese values. This is because the manifest values in the codes informed professional values and journalistic practice in Sub-Saharan Africa. And it equally showed whether there was a gap between the professional values that informed the codes and the way journalists practice their trade in Sub-Saharan Africa. Heinonen (1995) argued that normative system such as codes of ethics are formulated in relation to some articulated role expectations. And so, the absence of certain fundamental values such as truthfulness, integrity of the source, protection of the state of journalism, protection of the solidarity within the profession in the professional code of ethics could reveal gap between professional values and journalistic practice since there was no expectation from the code to hold anybody accountable. And the remaining RQs were answered by use of frequencies too. Wimmer et al. (2011) point out the result will help the research to compare the observed frequencies of the phenomenon in this case the three media paradigms, Western, Chinese and the African in the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African journalism so as to determine if there is any significant difference.

Phase 2: Qualitative

Corollary to the quantitative phase was the qualitative phase that utilized in-depth interviews. Interviews have proven to be appropriate for researching people's meaningful experiences and perception of a phenomenon in the African context (Amaeshi, Jackson, & Yavuz, 2008). And more, Tuwe (2015) and McAdams (1993) respectively argue that qualitative approach accommodates and complements the African oral tradition of storytelling because Africans are storytellers by nature, and therefore, the use of storytelling is an inherent part of their tradition and way of life. The journalists interviewed were board members of the professional journalism association of each of these countries for the study. King and Horrocks (2010) noted the popularity of qualitative research approaches in social sciences as they delves deeper into finding out what people think and feel. Seale (2004) argues that a qualitative approach reveals how people cope with particular experience. In view of this, some scholars have argued that the purpose of qualitative research is to explain and describe experiences and events as well as to make sense of the world around them (Willig, 2008).

Following the explanation above of the advantage of qualitative research that elicits interviewee's knowledge and experience of the subject, the researcher was interested in understanding the experiences and perspectives of Sub-Saharan African journalists how they navigated through this mesh of normative influences in their everyday duty in their own "stories, accounts and explanations" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 174). This is to enable them "to express their personal understanding of their work, rather than forcing them to choose from a list of predetermined answers" (Lindlof et al., p. 3). These are the "authentic accounts of subjective experience" (Miller & Glasner, 2004, p. 125) that enrich in-depth the understanding of data. For

this reason, Kvale (1996) noted that interviews are essential as they provide knowledge of the social world. Thus, this phase of the study will seek to elicit the way these normative influences in the codes shape journalistic practice in Africa as well as the African media profession based on the lived experiences of the journalists through the interviews.

The rationale for using mixed methods was that the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods provided a better understanding of the research issues than a single method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2012; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Hussein (2009) argues that the combination of quantitative method in the case of this content analysis of codes of ethics of journalists and qualitative method in the case of the study of board members of professional journalistic association with in-depth knowledge of how the codes work. Li, Worch, Zhou, and Aguiton (2015) argue that explanatory design was best suited for their study for the following reasons which also apply to this study, namely, to further understand the quantitative results in depth through a follow-up interview.

Participants for this study were 18 members of the board of directors of the professional journalism associations and six from each of these countries Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. The participants' age ranges from 40 to 65 years. All the participants have worked as journalists over 20 years and have served for two terms in their respective positions in their associations. The interviews lasted from around 50 minutes to one hour thirty minutes.

Population

The second criterion for the population of the study were the countries that were colonized by European countries as well as where China has made an impact recently. Jacoby (2007) argues is that China is a major player in Sub-Saharan Africa. Pieter and Dijk (2009) argue

that since 2008 China has replaced the European Union (EU) and the United States (US) as Africa's major trading partner. Gagliardone, Stremlau and Nkrumah (2012) argue that the Western media paradigm is associated with the goals of democratization and media liberalization which involves rolling back the influence of the state and the promotion of privatization of state services, while China's model in their media assistance to countries of Africa is different. For this reason, they further argue that China's involvement in the media sector in Africa requires in-depth empirical research and innovative frameworks to assess its significance and implications (p. 178). They provided a framework by identifying three dimensions, along which the Chinese influence in the media sector in Africa can be captured, namely, China as a *prototype*, a *partner*, and a *persuader* (Gagliardone, et al. 2012). According to Gagliardone et al. (2012) "This framework emerged as part of a collective effort among scholars from Africa, China and Europe who gathered in Oxford in 2010 to explore ways to approach the study of China's emerging role in the media in Africa, balancing out different perspectives and building a shared research agenda" (p. 178).

China as a Prototype

"China's economic success and impressive growth of media outlets and users have quietly promoted an example of how the media can be deployed within the larger political and economic strategies of developing states, beyond the democratization paradigm promoted in the West. The Chinese approach has shown that heavy investments in the media can go hand in hand with tight control, posing a lesser challenge to local governments and to political stability. China's media system has thus progressively emerged as a *prototype*, an example other states can follow to develop their own systems." (Gagliardone et al., 2012, p. 178)

China as Partner

“A second dimension along which China’s influence over the media in Africa can be studied involves looking at China as a *partner*, as an actor providing resources to African countries to implement projects that are deemed important for social and economic development. Since the mid-2000s the Chinese government and Chinese companies have enhanced their direct involvement in the telecommunication and media markets in Africa” (Gagliardone et al., 2012, p. 179).

China as a Persuader

“China’s role in Africa can be assessed according to its modality and ability to act as a *persuader*, shaping opinions in ways that favor either its image abroad or a particular agenda it supports. This third dimension is in the realm of public diplomacy, which China has recently stepped up through expanding the reach and content of its international broadcasters, including China Central Television (CCTV) and radio broadcaster CRI, and of its news agency, Xinhua. Furthermore, cultural diplomacy has grown through the continued establishment of Confucius Institutes, and programs that offer scholarships for foreign students and journalists to study in China have been expanded.” (Gagliardone et al., 2012, p. 180).

Gagliardone et al. (2012) argue that at a time when the global image of China is plummeting the 2008 poll of BBC World Service showed that 47 percent of respondents perceived China’s influence as positive, in 2009 the number dropped to 39 percent, while showing a gradual uptick to 44 percent in 2009. However, the negative perception of China increased from 32 percent to 38 percent globally, while, Africa showed a different view of China. According to the BBC World Service polls conducted from 2007 to 2011, regarding

China's perceptions in Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya showed a positive increase from 66 percent in 2008 to 74 percent in 2011 while at the same time the negative views dropped from 16 percent to 10 percent. And so, China enjoys a high rate of favorability in Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya. Park (2013) argues that China has a more favorable perception in South Africa than in neighboring Lesotho. However, Wasserman (2012) argues that there is a mixed perception of China in South Africa that is neither entirely positive nor negative. But he noted that the media in South Africa have a more optimistic and balanced viewpoint of the relationship between China and South Africa. To this end, South Africa, Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria have positive perceptions of their relationship with China. And China has a high level of investment both in the infrastructural development of these countries as well as in their media landscape. And so, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa are seen as exemplars of the three frameworks of *prototype*, *partner* and *persuader* in studying and understanding China's influence in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 2: The three dimensional measures of China in South Africa

a) *China as a prototype*

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Direct Investment	Independent Media	Print	2013	A Chinese investment holding acquisition of 2% of Independent Media South Africa. The acquisition eased content exchange between the South African group and the Chinese state-owned media.
Training	-----	multiple	2015	South African journalists' participation in a workshop for media officials organized by China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

b) China as a partner

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Infrastructure Development	Cell C & ZTE	Telecom	2010	Chinese telecommunications company awarded a USD378 million dollar contract to expand Cell C's GSM/UMTS network.

c) China as a persuader

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Content production	<i>Chinafrica</i>	Print	2012	Re-launch of <i>Chinafrica</i> magazine a bilingual (French and English) publication edited by China International Publishing Group, and establishment of a regional bureau in Johannesburg.
Content Distribution	StarSat	Broadcast	2013	Chinese-owned StarTimes acquisition of On Digital Media's TopTV and establishment of StarSat, a subscription based satellite platform offering Chinese and non-Chinese TV content.

(Source: Madrid-Morales, & Wasserman, 2017).

Table 3: The three dimensional measures of China in Ghana

a) China as a prototype

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Indirect involvement	Daily Graphic	print		This company is owned by the state (Ghana) but it is independently run. The structure and style of reporting that privileges cooperation and authority, both show interesting similarities with some of the organizational and normative principles characterizing Chinese media.

b) China as a partner

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Infrastructure Development	Huawei	Telecommunication	2008 & 2010	The Chinese telecom giant Huawei was awarded the technical realization of the project.
Infrastructure development	Huawei	Telecommunication	2008 & 2010	Ghana's e-government project one of the most ambitious in Sub-Saharan Africa financed by China's Exim Bank through two concessionary loans of US\$30 million in 2008 and US\$150 million in 2010.

c) China as a persuader

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Content production	<i>Chinafrica</i>	Print	2012	Re-launch of <i>Chinafrica</i> magazine a bilingual (French and English) publication edited by China International Publishing Group, and establishment of a regional bureau in Johannesburg.
Content Distribution	StarSat	Broadcast	2013	Chinese-owned StarTimes acquisition of On Digital Media's TopTV and establishment of StarSat, a subscription based satellite platform offering Chinese and non-Chinese TV content.

(Source: Madrid-Morales & Wasserman, 2017).

Table 4: The three dimensional measures of China in Nigeria

a) China as a prototype

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Content production	Xinhua	Print		Through positive reporting and highlighting of positive developments in Nigeria, China establishes an alternative media model in Nigeria.

b) China as a partner

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Infrastructure development	Sinopec, CNPC, SEPCO, CCECC, CGC	Oil and Gas, Construction & Real estate	-	These major Chinese companies in Nigeria are state owned enterprises. And they are involved in oil and gas exploration, drilling as well as in the construction of infrastructures.
	Huawei and ZTE, GWIC	telecommunication	2004	The production of telecommunication gadgets and providing GSM network equipment to Nigeria's V-mobile.
	GWIC	satellite	2005	One of the most prominent communications collaboration between China and Nigeria is the NIGCOMSAT-1 satellite.

c) China as a persuader

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Content distribution	Xinhua	print		The Xinhua news agency has two offices in Nigeria located in Abuja and Lagos. The agency pays more attention to Nigeria and seeks collaboration with a local newspaper like <i>The Guardian</i>

(Sources: Umejei, 2015; Egbula, & Zheng, 2011; The Guardian Newspaper, 2018, 7 February).

Ighobor (2013) argues that while China invests capital and technology in infrastructure, African countries in return offer China natural resources and access to local markets. Xiang (2018) argues that along with the increasing economic influence of China in Africa as well as the growth of China's state media in Africa there is a growing concern regarding this phenomenon. This is as a result of the relation between China's state media and the Chinese government as the media functions as a diplomatic arm of the government in promoting the soft power of China

(Wu, 2014; Zhang, Yanqui, Simom & Matingwina, 2016). Zhao (2012) noted that major media outlets are organizationally affiliated with the China Communist Party (CCP) and government institutions, and the state has the power to appoint media officials. In this effort, Xiang (2018) recognizes the role of China Central Television (CCTV) as well as other Chinese media outlets in Africa in their political, economic and cultural domination role and influence in Africa. Xiang (2018) argues that CCTV as well as other Chinese media in Africa has shown a different reporting style to traditional Western critical journalists' *modus operandi*. And this is a new style of positive reporting. The Chinese developmental model of journalism views the news as positive development that reflects the achievement of the state. And the press does not challenge nor hold the government accountable as is the case in the Western media paradigm.

Sample for the Phase 2

The sampling for this study was boards of directors of the primary professional journalism association in each of the exemplar countries. They were members of the journalism professional association and by virtue of their position in the association they were more informed about the operations of the code of ethics of the association. They served as good exemplars of the code by virtue of their position in the association. And they have relevant experiences to answer the research questions as well as proper understanding of the phenomenon. They were chosen from Sub-Saharan African countries that met the framework for studying Chinese influence in the African media sector.

To understand the influence of China in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as the influences of the Western and African values in the codes of ethics of the Sub-Saharan African countries in day-to-day journalism practice, the researcher posed the following research question:

RQ5: What normative influences are important in the day-to-day work experiences of journalists in your country?

The literature noted that the values of the profession were exemplified in codes of ethics. They are mechanisms for self-regulation necessary for the development of the profession as well as protecting the credibility and the integrity of the profession. Based on this context, the researcher posed this research question:

RQ6: How are the codes enforced in your country? And how are they not enforced?

China has become an important actor both in the media landscape in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in other sectors in the entire continent. The literature demonstrates that African media scholars have devoted their time to the study of the role of China in Africa. Based on this factor, the researcher posed this research question:

RQ7: To what extent do you see China as a partner, persuader and prototype in your work as a journalist, as well as, in other sectors?

Recruitment

For the purpose of this study, the researcher utilized *purposeful* or *purposive* sampling. Lindlof et al. (2011) argue that most qualitative researchers choose to utilize this method. The reason is that the researcher makes “informed judgments about what to observe or whom to interview” (Lindlof et al., p. 110). Furthermore, they argue that one begins this process by identifying the sampling units and in the case of this study it would be people and not sites, settings, events or time. Lindlof et al. (2011) argue that “Often, it is the structural position that persons occupy in an organization, a group, or society that justifies their selection” (p. 111). To this end, members of the boards of directors of the professional journalism association from the

countries that were exemplars of the three frameworks of *prototype*, *partner* and *persuader* in studying and understanding China's influence in Sub-Saharan Africa, namely, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa were selected. The members of the board of directors of the professional journalism association were Africans working in these countries: Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. And they should have relevant experiences that are necessary to answer the research questions as well as having good grasp of the understanding of the research problem. They understand the role of China in Africa as *partner*, as a *prototype* and *persuader*.

Lindlof et al. (2011) argue that the value of persons as sampling unit is clearest in interviewing. This is because "We recruit particular persons for interviews because they have had experiences that are vital to our research questions, or because they possess specific kinds of knowledge, or because of the stories they have to tell" (Lindlof et al., 2011, p. 111). In the case of this study, the people to be recruited and interviewed possess both the experiences that are vital to the research questions as well as the specific knowledge that is important for the proper understanding of the phenomenon.

Having identified the sampling unit of this study which should be professional journalists who are at the highest echelon of the journalistic professional association, who are well informed about their code of ethics and how it operates in South Africa, Ghana and Nigeria in Sub-Saharan Africa. Lindlof et al. (2011) noted that next step is the strategy for selecting the research subjects. For this study the method purposeful sampling. The reason for this kind of sampling was that it "attempts to capture the typical (or normative) form of a phenomenon" (Lindlof et al., p. 115). Furthermore, they argue that the method is well-suited to studying "typicality of the sites, people, activities, or events under study" (p. 11), in this case professional journalists who

were members of the board of directors of the professional association and were well informed about their code of ethics and its operations. They were ‘typical’ of the people suited for this study based on their knowledge of the codes of ethics of the journalism profession. Therefore, this sample is illustrative and not definitive” (cited in Patton, 1990, p. 173). Six people each from Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa were recruited. The interviewees were recruited because they have specific knowledge of how the codes worked in their country as they were exemplars of the professional body.

Procedures

Interviews were conducted via Zoom from September 1, 2020 to September 30, 2020. Qu and Dumay (2011) pointed out that interviews provide a useful way for researchers to learn about the world of others. The researcher through the use of interviews transformed the interviewees from a repository of opinions and emotions into a productive source of knowledge (Qu et al., 2011). In this process the interactivity and closeness with the interviewees was achieved as they were seen as participants (Alvesson, 2003). Bertrand and Bourdeau (2010) noted that since the millennium, the World Wide Web and the accessibility of high speed internet have made possible many different ways to connect people all around the world without leaving one’s armchair. Lacono, Symonds and Brown (2016) pointed out that internet based methods of communication are becoming increasingly important and influencing researchers’ options. They observe that VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) technologies such as Skype and Face Time provide the researcher the ability to interview research participants using voice and video across the internet via a synchronous (real-time) connection. The method is appropriate for this study as it is transnational and covers a lot of distance yet connects the researcher with the interviewees in

a close and interactive manner. Lacono et al. (2016) argues that Skype opens up new possibilities by allowing the researcher to contact participants worldwide in a time efficient and financially affordable manner. For the study the technology used was Zoom. The interviews were conducted via Zoom and they were conducted between the 1st of September and the 30th of September. The interviews lasted between fifty (50) and an hour thirty minutes.

Analysis

Creswell (2007) pointed out that in this stage of the research, “the researcher engages in the process of moving in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach” (p. 150). The researcher after all the interviews transcribed the interviews verbatim. The researcher then organized the data and classified the texts into appropriate units (e.g., a word, phrase or sentence) (Creswell, 2007).

To analyze the data, apriori (deductive) approach was utilized. Pope and Mays (2000) noted that that this is the process of drawing on the questions derived from the aims and objectives of the study. The research questions and the concepts in them informed the interview protocol, which provided an apriori framework in analyzing the interview data looking for elements or themes in the responses of the interviewees. This was done in the form of memos in the margins of the transcripts in the process of exploring the data and this helped in identifying major themes from the views of the interviewees. This led ultimately to the formation of categories. Creswell (2007) noted that “category formation represents the heart of qualitative analysis” (p. 151). This is because it enables the researcher to “develop themes or dimensions through some classification system, and provide an interpretation in the light of their own views

or views of perspectives in the literature” (p. 151). Through this process the findings of the study emerged from the data.

Verification

Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008) noted that since the analysis of qualitative data is more subjective this raises the question whether the analysis should be verified or validated by a third party. They pointed out the verification of the data will make the process more rigorous and reduce the element of bias. Creswell (2007) pointed out that researchers should employ accepted strategies to document the ‘accuracy’ of their studies.

Bernard et al. (2008) pointed out that there are two key ways of having data analysis validated by others: (1) respondent validation (or member check) and this involves returning to t/he study participants and asking them to validate the finding; and (2) is peer review- where another qualitative researcher analyses the data independently. For the purpose of this study, the researcher made use of respondent validation or member check since they were the sources of knowledge. The purpose is to double check with the participants whether the findings represent the truth of their statements and the context therein. Creswell (2008) pointed out that most qualitative studies use this process by going “back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (p. 208).

The respondent validation or member check was done through Zoom as it was for the interviews. From the 18 participants in the study, nine (9) of them were contacted through Zoom and the summary of the findings was read to them individually. It should be pointed out that none of the respondents added anything to the summary of the findings, nor did any of them object to the findings made known to them.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS

To address the research questions, a sequential explanatory design of mixed methods (Quantitative-Qualitative-explanation (analysis) was employed. The use of mixed method in studies has been employed for different reasons by different scholars. Some scholars use it to increase the validity of their studies (Creswell & Miller, 2000, Golafshani, 2003, Smith & Kleine, 1986). Others use it to for the purpose of increasing the credibility of their study (Jick, 1979). Over and above these reasons for which scholars have used this method, the use of this method for this study was to increase the wider and deeper understanding of the subject under investigation in this study. And the same reason of deepening the understanding of a particular phenomenon under investigation by the use of mixed methods has been employed by some scholars (Coyle & Williams 2000, Mactavish & Schleien, 2000, Olsen, 2004).

The Quantitative Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to analyze the data. Content analysis has been employed as a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use (Krippendorff, 2004). Riffe et al. (2005) have noted the centrality of this method to the field of mass communication. One of the usefulness of content analysis in the field of mass communication is that it helps in the descriptive understanding of mass communication contents. Ikonen and Bowen (2017) employed content analysis to analyze codes of ethics in public relations, marketing, advertising and journalism. This research work shared in their purpose for choosing codes of ethics in their research because “Codes of ethics are chosen as units of analysis as they are prevalent and pervasive in the industries that use sponsored content: news

and entertainment media, public relations, and advertising” (p. 5). This is because as Kaarle (2010) noted “...codes of ethics as standard-setting instruments for the profession are unique material for research about the values underlying journalistic practice.” (Kaarle, 2010, p. 429). This study utilized the codes of 44 sub-Saharan African countries. And within these 44 codes, the particular codes of some countries such as Cameroon, Central African Republic, republic of the Congo, Equitorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tóme and Pricipe, South Sudan and Madagascar could not be found and in their absence their regional codes to which they were signatories were used instead. To understand the underlying influences in the Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics the following questions were answered based on the content analysis of the codes.

The Qualitative Interviews

Interviews are employed as method of gaining knowledge in social sciences. Lindlof et al. (2011) argued that research interview “...unfolds as a social process.” (p. 171). Hesse-Biber et al. (2011) noted that qualitative interviews can be utilized to yield exploratory and descriptive data. In the case of this research study, the method is employed to yield both exploratory and descriptive data based on the hands-on experiences of subjects regarding how the codes of ethics work in the day-to-day experiences of journalists in Sub-Saharan African countries. The participants for this study were 18 members of the board of directors of the professional journalism associations and six from of each these countries Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. These countries were chosen because they were exemplars not only of their colonial history but also the strong presence of China in their media landscape. And so, a total number of 18 subjects were interviewed. Participants for this study were 18 members of the board of directors of the

professional journalism associations and six from each of these countries Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. The participants' age ranges from 40 to 65 years. All the participants have worked as journalists over 20 years and have served for two terms in their respective positions in their associations. The interviews lasted from around 50 minutes to one hour thirty minute.

RQ 1: What are the values exhibited in the various codes of ethics of journalism of Sub-Saharan African countries?

We calculated the frequencies in which the variables appeared in the content using nominal measurement that indicated the number of codes in which values appeared 12 values were measured. These values were: individual, truth, diversity, freedom from government, state interests, nation building, conformity, public diplomacy, community, solidarity, harmony and freedom for community.

Table 5: Presence of values in African codes of ethics

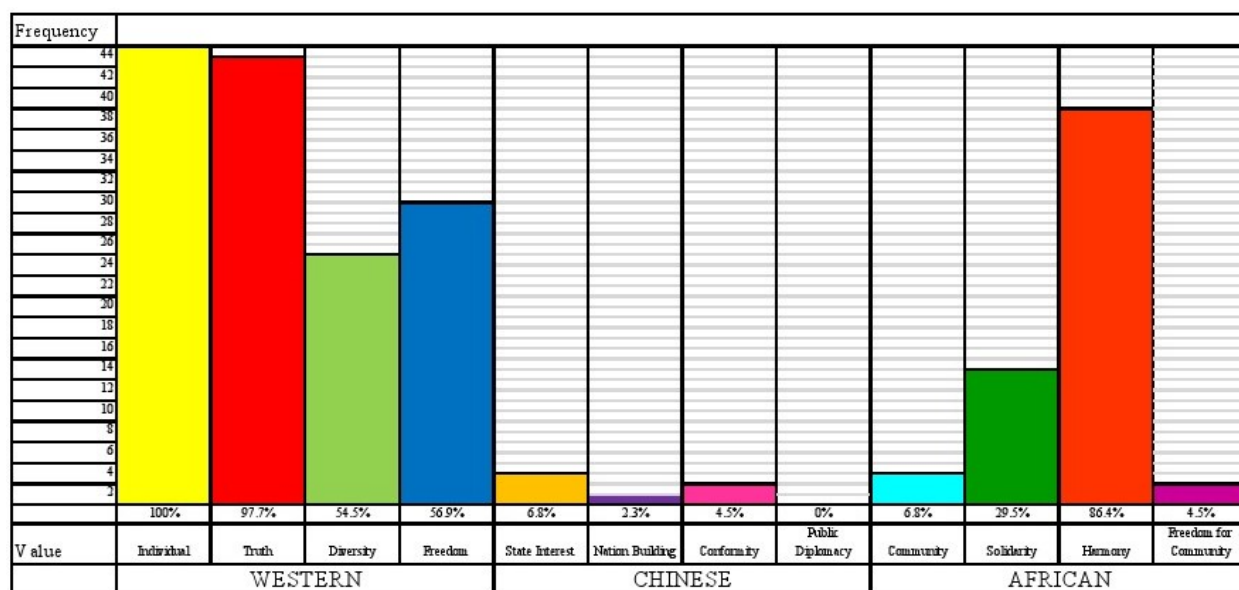
Western	The number of codes in which values appear (n=44)	Percentage of codes in which value appears
Individual	44	100%
Truth	43	97.7%
Diversity	24	54.5%
Freedom from government	29	65.9%
Total number of occurrences of Western values: 140		

Chinese	The number of codes in which values appear (n=44)	Percentage of codes in which value appears
State interests	3	6.8%
Nation building	1	2.3%
Conformity	2	4.5%
Public Diplomacy	0	0%
Total number of occurrences of Chinese values: 7		

African	The number of codes in which values appear (n=44)	Percentage of codes in which value appears
Community	3	6.8%
Solidarity	13	29.5%
Harmony	38	86.4%
Freedom for community	2	4.5%
Total number of occurrences of African values: 58		

Table 5: Indicated the various values found in the Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics. Out of the twelve values found in the 44 codes the values of individual, truth and harmony were found in more than half of the codes. Individual was found in all the 44 codes giving it 100% of occurrence. This was followed by the truth value which was found in 43 out of the 44 codes of ethics analyzed giving it 97.7 % of occurrence in all the codes. Next was harmony which occurred in 38 of the codes of ethics giving it 86.4% of occurrence in all the codes. The value of freedom from government was found in 29 codes and had 65.9% of occurrence in the codes. This was followed by the value of diversity which came out in 24 of the codes and having 54% of occurrence in all the codes. The solidarity value was seen in 13 of the codes giving it 29.5% of occurrence in the codes. The values of Community and state interests were found only in 3 of the codes giving them 6.8% occurrence in the codes. While conformity and freedom for community came out only in 2 of the codes making it 4.5% occurrence in the codes. The least of all the values found was nation building which occurred only in 1 of the codes and which makes it to have only 2.3% of occurrence in the codes. Public diplomacy as value was not found in any of the 44 codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Figure 2: Presence of values in African ethics codes



RQ 2 a: To what extent do these values reflect Western values?

The codes were analyzed based on 12 values that were identified in the literature. Of the 12 values analyzed four of them identified as Western values: individual, truth, diversity and freedom from government were found in more than half of the codes. The histogram above showed that the Western values occurred more in the codes more than the other values. The value of individual was found in all the codes with 100% occurrence. The value of truth was found in almost all the codes at 43 and with 97.7% occurrence in all the codes. Next in the codes were the Western values of freedom from government and diversity which occurred in about half to two thirds of the codes. Freedom from government occurred in 29 of the codes and this gave it 65.5% of occurrence in the codes of ethics. The least of the Western values that occurred in the codes was the value of diversity. Diversity came out in 24 of the codes giving it 54% of occurrence. Though diversity was the least among the Western values, it still occurred in more than half of the number of codes analyzed.

RQ 2 b: To what extent do these values reflect Chinese developmental values?

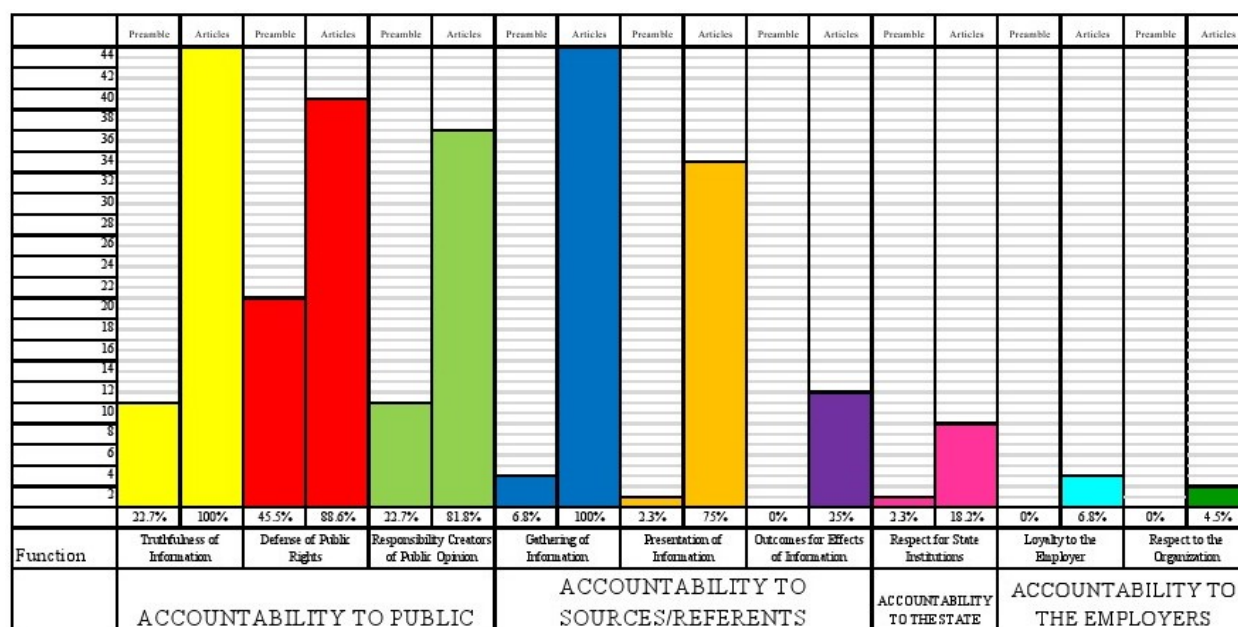
The 12 values were found in the 44 codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African, four of them were identified as Chinese values. These were the values of state interests, nation building, conformity and public diplomacy. The histogram indicated that in all the codes three of the Chinese values of state interests, nation building, and conformity occurred in a negligible number. Public diplomacy was not found in any of the codes. The value of state interests occurred in only 3 of the codes giving it 6.8% of occurrence. This was followed by the value of conformity which appeared in 2 of the codes giving it 4.5% occurrence in the whole codes. The value of nation building came out only in 1 of the codes which gave it 2.3% of occurrence. And the value of public diplomacy was not found in all the 44 codes of ethics.

RQ 2 c: To what extent do these values reflect African media values?

The 12 values were found in the codes, four of the values were identified as African values. These were the values of community, solidarity, harmony and freedom for community. Harmony was the only African value found in more than half of the codes. And solidarity occurred in nearly one third of the codes. This means that apart from harmony and solidarity the other two African values studied seldom appeared, less than 10 percent of the codes had these two values. Harmony was found in 38 codes which gave it 86.4% of occurrence. This was followed by the value of solidarity which came out in 13 of the codes giving it 29.5% of occurrence in number of codes appeared. The value of community appeared in only 3 of the codes which made it to have 6.8% in the number of codes occurred. The least African value found in the codes was the value of freedom for community which was seen only in 1 of the codes giving it 4.5% of occurrence in number of codes the value came out in.

RQ 3: What functions of the media are exhibited in Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics?

Figure 3: Functions of media in ethical codes



The functions of the codes of ethics lay out the primary duties of journalists in the society. And the professional values that informed and shaped journalistic practices. And these functions were analyzed both in the preambles and in the articles to ascertain prominence and salience in the codes based on occurrence in the preambles and articles. The functions of media were classified in four categories: accountability to public, accountability to sources/referents, and accountability to the state and accountability to the employers. In the preamble the functions of the media were nearly non-existent. And in the articles the values of truthfulness, defense of public rights, and responsibility as creators of public of information, gathering of information

and presentation of information were found in more than half of the articles. Each of these categories was measured with their variables

Preamble

In the preamble truthfulness of information, defense of rights and responsibility as creators of public opinion occurred more in the preambles than other values in the functions of the codes. And these variables were under accountability to public. Under the accountability to public, the truth of information was found one fourth of the codes with 10 occurrence in the codes giving it 22.7%. The defense of public rights was seen in almost half of the codes with 20 occurrence in the codes giving it 45.5%. And responsibility as creators of public opinion was found in one fourth of the codes with 10 occurrence in the codes giving it 22.7% of occurrence. Under the accountability to sources the elements: gathering of information, presentation of information and outcomes for effects of information were nearly absent because they occurred fewer than in one-tenth of the preambles and the accountability to the state was also almost absent, while under accountability to the employers the elements had zero occurrence.

Table 6: Functions of media in ethical codes (RQ 3)

	The number of codes in which values appear in the preamble (n=44)	The number of codes in which values appear in articles (n=44)
Accountability to public	Preamble	Articles
Truthfulness of information	10 (22.7%)	44 (100%)
Defense of public rights	20 (45.5%)	39 (88.6%)
Responsibility creators of public opinion	10 (22.7%)	36 (81.8%)
Accountability to sources/referents	Preamble	Articles
Gathering of Information	3 (6.8%)	44 (100%)
Presentation of information	1 (2.3%)	33 (75.0%)
Outcomes for effects of information	0 (0%)	11 (25.0%)

Accountability to the state	Preamble	Articles
Respect for state institutions	1 (2.3%)	8 (18.2%)

Accountability to the employers	Preamble	Articles
Loyalty to the employer	0 (0%)	3 (6.8%)
Respect to the organization	0 (0%)	2 (4.5%)

Articles

These variables truthfulness of information and gathering of information were found in all the 44 codes. Defense of public rights, responsibility as creators of public opinion, and presentation of information were found in more than half of the articles in the codes. Three of these variables: truthfulness of information, defense of public rights and responsibility as creators of public were under the function of accountability to public. And the remaining two variables: gathering of information and presentation of information were found under accountability to sources/referents.

In the main articles of the codes the variable truth of information came out in all the 44 codes of ethics which gave it 100% occurrence in all the codes. Next under the category of accountability to public was the defense of public rights variable. Defense of public rights came out in 39 of the articles giving it 88% of occurrence. The variable responsibility as creators of public opinion was found in 36 of the articles given. Under the accountability to sources, gathering of information found in all the 44 of the articles giving it 100% of occurrence in the codes. Presentation of information was found in 33 of the articles of the codes giving it 75.0% of occurrence. The rest of the variables under accountability to the state and accountability to the employers were found in less than one third of the articles or did not occur at all.

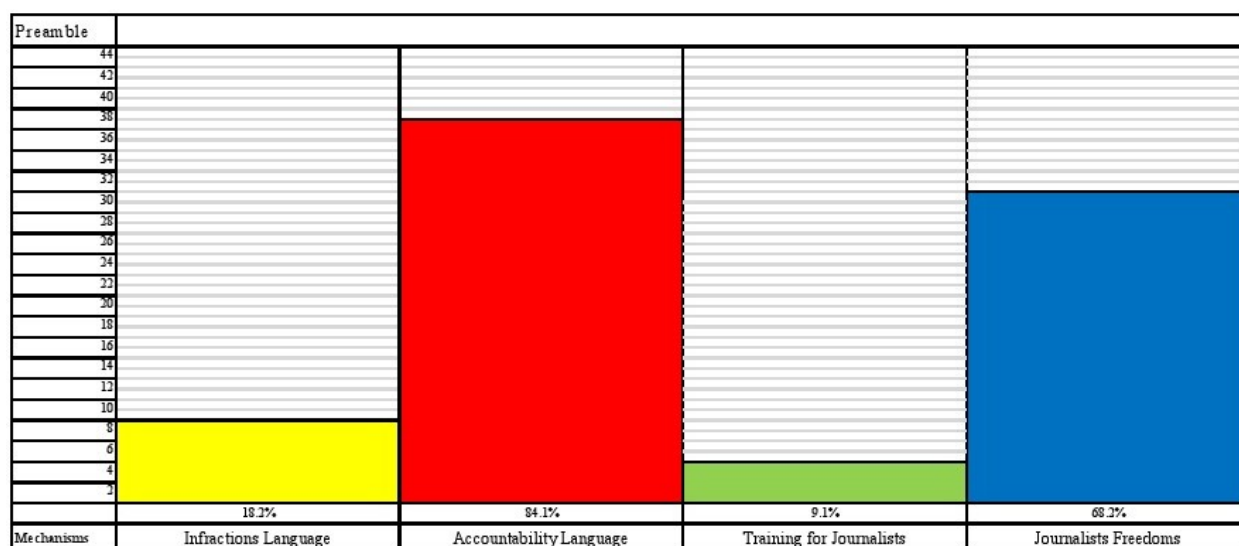
RQ 4: What are the professional self-regulatory mechanisms in the Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics?

The codes were analyzed on four variables that were identified as self-regulatory mechanisms in the codes of ethics. Two of the variables accountability language and journalists freedom were found in more than half of the codes. Accountability language was in well over three fourths of the codes and journalists' freedom was in more than two thirds. The rest of the variables training of journalists was more or less absent in the codes because it was found in less than one tenth of the codes, while infractions language was found in more than one-tenth in the codes.

Table 7: Professional self-regulatory mechanisms in ethical codes (RQ 4)

	The number of codes in which values appear (n=44)	Percentage of codes in which value
Infractions language	8	18.2%
Accountability language	37	84.1%
Training for journalists	4	9.1%
Journalists freedoms	30	68.2%

Figure 4: Professional self-regulatory mechanisms in ethical codes



The variable accountability language was found in 37 of the codes giving it 84.1% of occurrence. The variable journalists freedoms was found in 30 of the codes which gave it 68.2% of occurrence. The rest of the variables were found in less than one tenth of the codes or did not occur in the codes..

Interview questions

RQ 5: What normative influences are important in the day-to-day experiences of journalists in your country?

To answer this question, participants from Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa were asked the same questions within the context of their country. It should be pointed out here that some of the participants mentioned more than one normative influence in the course of the interview and this makes the number reported not to be with the total number of participants. Among the 18 participants 11 of them noted that Western values were the common normative influences in

their day-to-day experience as journalists. Three of them answered that the codes of ethics of their profession were the main normative influences. Six of the participants mentioned that African values play a role in the normative influences in their day-to-day experience as journalists. While two of the participants indicated that financial aspect of the media industry plays a role in the normative influences in their day-to-day experience as journalists. One person said that it was passion for the profession and the other person mentioned the constitution of his country as well as the global human rights as values shaping the normative influences in their journalism practice.

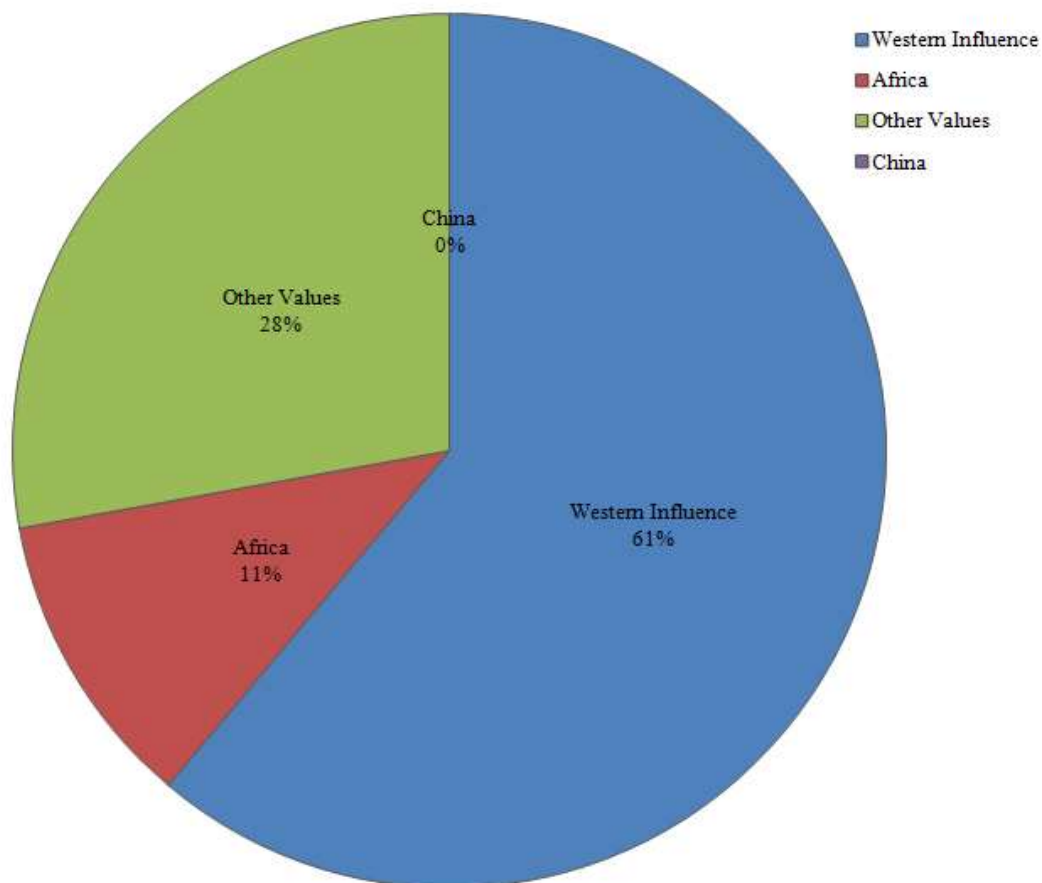
Western Normative Influences

The majority of the participants pointed out that Western normative values were the stronger influence in their journalistic practice. This suggests that Western normative values informed and shaped the roles of journalists in Sub-Saharan Africa. To demonstrate the influence of Western normative values in journalistic practice in Sub-Saharan Africa the participants said the following: Participant 1 (male) from Ghana noted that the background for the journalism practice in Ghana can be traced to the colonial masters as they injected a lot of influences on how journalism is practiced in Ghana today. He opined that, “If you look at the English speaking countries Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia and others our media laws are rooted in British laws and we are also trained by the British people and our style is British.”

The point the participant was making was that when Europeans came to Africa and conquered the continent they established the traditional media mainly newspaper and radio stations to help them in the administration of their new territories. This is why the media

landscape in each of the African countries today is shaped by the particular European country that owned the territory whether French, Britain, Netherland, Portugal, or Belgium.

Figure 5: Normative influence in daily journalistic practice



The Pie chart indicated that the Western normative values dominated the normative influence in the daily journalistic practice in Sub-Saharan Africa with 61% informing more than half of the daily journalistic influences. The echo of the Western values as the common normative influence

in the African media was a shared view by many of the participants. Participant 5 (male) from Nigeria noted the influence of the colonial masters on Nigeria and Africa in general. He said

We as Africans and Nigerians we have not been able to extricate ourselves completely from this influence of our colonial masters. So we have not been able to bring our identity into our reportage, our culture. We still borrow and look at our activities from the lenses of our colonial masters. So African culture has not really come into play in how we see ourselves, we see ourselves from the Western perspective. We compare ourselves with the Westerners. And we measure ourselves from their standards. So By my own experience we are still entangled and enmeshed in all the Western ideologies that we inherited.

The idea of Western normative influence in African media landscape is not limited to Ghana and Nigeria. Participants from South Africa were of the view that South Africa and Africa in general still have the Western influence on them. Participant 3 (male) observed that

African journalism is a replica of the Western media. And if look at how much of our media houses in Africa came into being most of them were established with the help of the colonialists the British, and others from Europe. And so, the style has always been the monopolized one in which the media have been so powerful in terms of who decides what is discussed in the public discourse.

Individual

The importance of freedom from government in the work of journalists is tied-in into the individual qualities such as liberty, freedom of speech and other rights of the individual. These individual qualities were valued both from the perspectives of individuals rights in the society

and the individual rights of the journalists to carry out their duties in the society. Participant 6 (male) from Ghana said

So I need that right that liberty to operate within my professional limit. For instance I cannot record you without your permission and I also know that there are certain things I cannot do as a journalist but there also so many things that I can do. So that liberty I need to have it in order to serve the people. So it is important for me to my liberty. But I again appreciate the privacy and the liberty of others. If I want to come and talk to you and you do not feel like talking to me I should not be offended then I should not move out insulting you.

The interference of the government in the work of journalists in Nigeria has impact both on the qualities of life of the individuals in the society and on journalists in their rights such as liberty, freedom of speech and other rights of the individual. Participant 3 (male) from Nigeria observed that:

These things are there in the constitution and every journalist knows his or her right but it is currently non-existent. Because you see a journalist post something he is arrested, gets calls and threatened. It is there but currently in Nigeria it is not applicable. And funny enough a lot of these journalists have been trained on these things from the Western media. But practically they are not able to do them because of the very independent and very strong media in South Africa.

South African participants said that the qualities of the individual such as liberty, freedom of speech and other rights of the individual are vital to any democratic society. They noted that without these rights of the individual the free flow of information will be hampered. Participant 3

(male) observed that “Once there is no freedom of speech, there is no liberty then the press is oppressed and all that as we have seen in many countries like Zimbabwe, Malawi and in Zambia, that tells you that you cannot have a free press like that. And if the media is not free if journalists are living in fear then they cannot do their work perfectly.”

Truth

The participants generally noted that for them as journalists to serve the society and the people the value of truth was important. The participants generally recognized the role truth played in their journalistic work as they said that it was the very basic value in journalistic practice. Participant 2 (male) from Ghana observed:

Truth is everything and I know as a journalist credibility matters a lot. Because it is the only thing we can pride ourselves with. Insofar as truth defines credibility it is something very important. That is why even in the Ghana Journalism Association (GJA) code of ethics it is one of the ethical principles under article two of the code that we cherish most. So once you lose your credibility you have no business in the industry again. And truth will define the kind of credibility you hold.

Nigerian journalists noted the importance of the value of truth in their work. They recognize that giving out falsehood will destabilize the society. Participant 5 (male) noted that “Truth is the cardinal objective of every good journalism. And it is one of the ethics guiding the profession.” In line with the cardinal objective of truth telling, Nigeria journalists noted that truth does not reside in one side of the story. Truth requires the different shades of views. Participant 4 (female) from Nigeria observed that:

But when you take that story from a myopic point of view what I mean is from a single individual you wouldn't have an in depth story. So the importance of taking from multiple views is that you have an in depth story, and it would not be from a myopic point of view. It will give you a vast knowledge of what you are talking about and what the issues are.

On the issue of truth the journalists from South Africa noted that truth telling is sacrosanct to journalism. They were of the view that no matter what the journalist obligation is to tell the truth.

Participant 3 (male) from South Africa opined that:

So truth becomes like one of the central values of journalism. It is actually the pillar of journalism. And from the standpoint of media ethics truth telling is what holds the rest of it. No matter how interested one might be in a story the journalist job should start and end as clearly as they are, and truthfully and accurately as they are, you do not add or remove anything from it just present it as they are.

The importance of diversity as a value in journalism was noted among the journalists. The participants noted the need to present the various views in a given story and allow the reader to choose what the truth in the story is. Participant 4 (female) noted:

Yes, truth it is very important. It is very important let say you have the truth and someone challenges that or have a divergent view I think it is important to write about it and to publicize it and have the divergent view. And at the end the reader or the listener will make up his own mind. But yes and this is where balance comes in. You have truth, you have divergent view perhaps you have a third opinion and I think it all need to be

presented in a fair and critical way. Of course it can detract from your article, it can detract from the truth but if it is important I think it needs to be there.

Diversity or Different Views

To get to the truth the participants in general terms noted that truth does not have only one side. And so, the value of diversity or different views was expressed. Participant 1 (male) from Ghana said:

Diversity is one of our universal values which make journalism strong. It is said that all do not think alike and that every issue has two or more sides. Gone were the days when we were sentenced to listen to one side of information and we are ok with it. For instance we use to have Ghana radio broadcasting corporation and television station only. We did not have diversity and variegated media as we have now. And truth is like gold and should be refined and gold is worth refining it, it is like the truth. You subject the truth to all kinds of opinion. And sometimes out of the chaotic piles of views truth emerges. Journalists have to challenge the truth from a lot of issues. So media variety and media pluralism is important.

The importance of diversity as a value in journalism was noted among the journalists. They noted the need to present the various views in a given story and allow the reader to choose what the truth in the story is. In Nigeria participants said that that was one of the values that journalists have maintained. Participant 3 (male) said “but they try to maintain that role. They always bring in oppositions views when they are handling any issue. So it well spread that even those that I said that are not really interested in real journalistic stuff know the principle and they abide by it in Nigeria.”

Participant 4 (female) from South Africa noted:

Yes and it is very important. It is very important let say you have the truth and someone challenges that or have a divergent view, I think it is important to write about it and to publicize it and have the divergent view expressed. And at the end the reader or the listener will make up his own mind. But yes and this is where balance comes in. you have truth, you have divergent view perhaps you have a third opinion and I think it all need to be presented in a fair and critical way. Of course it can detract from your article, it can detract from the truth but if it is important I think it needs to be there.

Freedom From Government

The participants from Ghana noted the importance of freedom from government as a value in the work of journalists. They noted that freedom from government is the essence of the profession and without it the journalism profession cannot hold its fundamental value in the society. Participant 2 (male) said:

For me the freedom of the press is very essential to the work we do. The reason many people are excited about the 1992 constitution for example was because it was the only constitution in Ghana that have a whole chapter devoted to the independence of the press, others constitutions only had a provision or two. But in the 1992 constitution we are having a whole chapter 12 that is devoted to independence of the media and freedom.

The participants from Nigeria equally noted the importance of freedom from government as a value in the work of journalists. Journalism being the ‘Fourth Estate’ must always demand its own space to exist outside the government control. But in Nigeria journalists do not have that space to do their job. Participant 2 (male) said “ Every day we hear of how security people are

harassing our people (journalists) we have to consistently appeal to government that it is very important that you protect journalists, because free press is a critical ingredient, critical feature of democratic governance. If the media is not free democracy is in imperiled.”

South African journalists noted that their constitution guaranteed freedom of the press. The government knows that and it tries to respect that obligation. Participant 2 (female) from South Africa said:

Our constitution support media freedom and I think because of that we have been incredibly lucky in terms of the freedom access to be able to write and hold government to account. I think the big thing is to look at most important things that journalists have covered in the last two years. Which for example a lot of issues of government corruption, the issue of corruption by politicians, and the very big issue which was around politicians and their families. And we would not have had such coverage if not because of the very independent and very strong media in South Africa.

African Normative Influences

Out of the 18 participants six of them said that African values form part of the normative influences in their day-to-day experience as journalists. And this number six is evenly distributed as two participants each from Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa said that African values were important in their work as journalists. Participant 1 (male) from Ghana puts it this way regarding the normative influence of the African values in the way journalists ask those in government questions.

So because of some cultural inhibitions the media in some parts of Ghana or Africa cannot be as scrutinous as their counterpart for instance in UK. British citizens are at a

liberty to criticize the Queen. In fact the Buckingham Palace is not spared of media aggression, media scrutiny or media scolding because for them no one is above the law. But when it comes to Africa you cannot paint our traditional rulers with the same brush. So that is how you can draw a line of difference in the values that shape journalism in Ghana and the value that shape journalism elsewhere in the world.

Two of the participants from Nigeria noted the role of African values in shaping the normative influences in Sub-Saharan African countries. Participant 3 (male) from Nigeria noted how BBC trainers who come to Nigeria were using values that were peculiar to Nigerians and use them in teaching Nigerian journalists. He puts it this way “What they are doing now is marrying our values with what they have over there.” This is because they trainers have realized the cultural context that shapes media practices in every environment. Another Participant from Nigeria pointed out the influence of African values in journalism practice. Participant 4 (female) said “We take theirs but because we are not where they are, because we have not gotten to the point where they are, you find out that our culture, our ways of life are embedded in our kind of journalism.”

In talking about the way the South African media confronted the apartheid regime, Participant 6 (female) said that the resistance to the oppression in South Africa by the black media was something that came from their tradition and not an alien influence. She noted “I do not think it is necessarily a Western paradigm. I think it comes organically out of the country.” And this was corroborated by Participant 5 (male) from South African who equally noted that the African tradition is much in line with the African human rights and it has influenced in the way journalists do their work in South Africa.

Community

The participants in Ghana saw the need for the role of the community in the work of journalists. The community should not control the work of journalists but should work with journalist in a kind of collaboration. They noted that the journalist comes from a community and the community is good source of information for the journalist. Participant 1 (male) said “So we need that social legitimacy from the community because we are in business to serve them. We should always make sure we serve her interest.” And another participant 3 (male) noted:

I do not think they have any control per se but they may also shape the way we do our work. Because we work for the interest of the people if community has a certain interest or against that then we may also work towards that interest or against it. But that does not necessarily mean that the community has control whatsoever over the work that we do or dictate to the media as to what to do. But we need to work hand in hand to achieve a common agenda especially when it the interest of development and welfare of the people.

The participants recognized the important role of community in the work of journalists but did not agree the idea of community control of the media. Participant 3 (male) said:

A journalist does not exist in a vacuum. Journalists exist in a community. In that community you write about people and you need those people for information they have to tip you and all the people coming from the community they will also come and compliment you. So the role the people play can impact on your work as a journalist. If the sources are not forth coming from your community and people are not willing to give you stories or comment on what you are investigating on it means that you cannot succeed in your journalism.

Participants stated that the community should not control the media but rather the journalist should work together with the community to advance its interest. Participant 1 (male) noted that “The community is very important in the work of a journalist because you must relate with them, you are not an island and we live in communities.

Solidarity

Participants agreed that it is the role of journalists to seek social cohesion, togetherness in the community as well as solidarity. Participant 4 (male) said

Yes, they are very divisive elements in every community and in every society and it is the work of journalists to bring cohesion. We are there to listen to everybody both far-right and extreme-left and to find a middle point where we can live together in peace and in development. And that is the job of journalists.

Participant 5 (male) responded that the role of journalists to create and forge togetherness in the community is so important. He stated “Perfect. For me, that is the way to go because if you don’t do it and I don’t do it for our community and my community somebody else will use a different approach to undermine my community or your community.”

On the issue of journalists forging social cohesion and togetherness as well as solidarity in the community the participants agreed that journalists should be involved in bringing the community together. Participant 2 (female) said:

During the apartheid years one of the things that I found interesting in the area I grew up was a certain local publication and it was sold door to door, which means it was the community that sold the paper. Young people like me will be getting copies of the paper and we will go door to door. And it became a very useful organizing tool around all kinds

of social justice issues. If you took the paper you went to greet the family and occasionally they will invite you for tea and a time they just take the paper and pay you. Generally this became a very important organizing tool in the community.

Harmony

On the issue of journalists forging social cohesion, togetherness and solidarity in the community, participants agreed that it is the duty of journalists to build bridges as social mobilizers. Participant 2 (male) said:

Well. O of course I recall when I was also a correspondent in a particular state this issues of herdsmen-farmers' clashes some journalists were comfortable writing you know that negative stories sell but you will only succeed to destroy the community. So there is nothing wrong with the journalist becoming a social mobilizer, apart from being a social critique you can also be a mobilizer. It is part of your role apart from being a social critic you must be a mobilizer. You must build the communities through your reportage, through the message you preach. You do not destroy the communities. You must build them because it was a former president of Nigeria who said that "when you awake up in the morning and you clean your house and encourage other people to clean their respective houses across streets, local governments, wards and all that, the entire country will be clean." So it is important you be a mobilizer, you build synergy, and there must be cohesion as you observed in our system otherwise there will be problem.

If you took the paper you went to greet the family and occasionally they will invite you for tea and a time they just take the paper and pay you. Generally this became a very important organizing tool

Freedom for community

Participants noted that the community should not control the media but rather the journalist should work together with the community to advance its interest. Participant 1 (male) noted that “The community is very important in the work of a journalist because you must relate with them, you are not an island and we live in communities.

Chinese Normative Influences

Of the 18 participants interviewed none of them mentioned China as having normative influence in the Sub-Saharan African media practices and in the codes of ethics. All the participants from Ghana answered that they do not support the idea of government controlling the media for development following their experience of repressive military regimes in Ghana. Participant 2 (male) from Ghana said “Media control by government of any form or shape should not be entertained.” But then the idea of supporting the government and conformity to the authority of government were seen as social responsibility of the press. Participant 4 (male) from Ghana noted:

If we all accept that the government is an institution or elected body by the people that seek to work for the interest of the people then I guess it is right and appropriate for the media to work under the authority of the government of the day. But that is not to say that by so doing we are failing our mandate as a watchdog. So it is a collaborative effort and I think it is the right thing to do. There must be an authority in a nation to direct us to a developmental goal. But then we need even to collaborate with state actors to work as a watchdog of the people.

The idea here suggests that in democratic societies such as Ghana the media are independent. However, the adversarial role of the press does not negate the idea of the media highlighting and supporting the government when it is appropriate for the good of the society. But in a Communist society such as China the media do not have any option than to support and propagate the views of the one party state embodied by the government.

Participants from Nigeria did not buy the idea of government controlling the media for the purpose of national development. Participant 1 (male) from Nigeria said

No. National development in a capitalist country like Nigeria does not give the government the control, because in Nigeria the people who are close to government do not tell the government the truth. They feel that when they say the truth the government will sack them. It is what they want to hear that they will tell them. But if they want to hear the truth they do not need to control any media. The media is meant for the development of the society. Development journalism is all about telling the government where it is good or not doing good.

The participants from Nigeria believed that supporting the government is part of the work of the media as well as conforming to the authority of government in terms of letting the people know what government is doing. Participant 2 (male) from Nigeria said:

Like I said we are supposed to be institutional partners. You are not set out to bring down the government. But you are set out to correct the ills in government or in governance. So, if you are set out to correct the ills that means beginning from your first role to the end you are supposed to please the people including those in government, they also deserve protection. Sometimes people that have political interest might use the media to

undermine the government. At that point media assume the responsibility of protecting government. And when government wants to use instrument of governance to undermine the people the media now wear the toga of pro people and now protect the people. So media have different roles at different times.

The whole idea here suggests that unlike in China, the Nigeria media are neutral in their reportage. They do not take sides but report the affairs and businesses of the government irrespective of the way the government perceives it. They are to put out the good done by the government as well as the bad done by the government, and to draw the attention of the government to areas where it is needed.

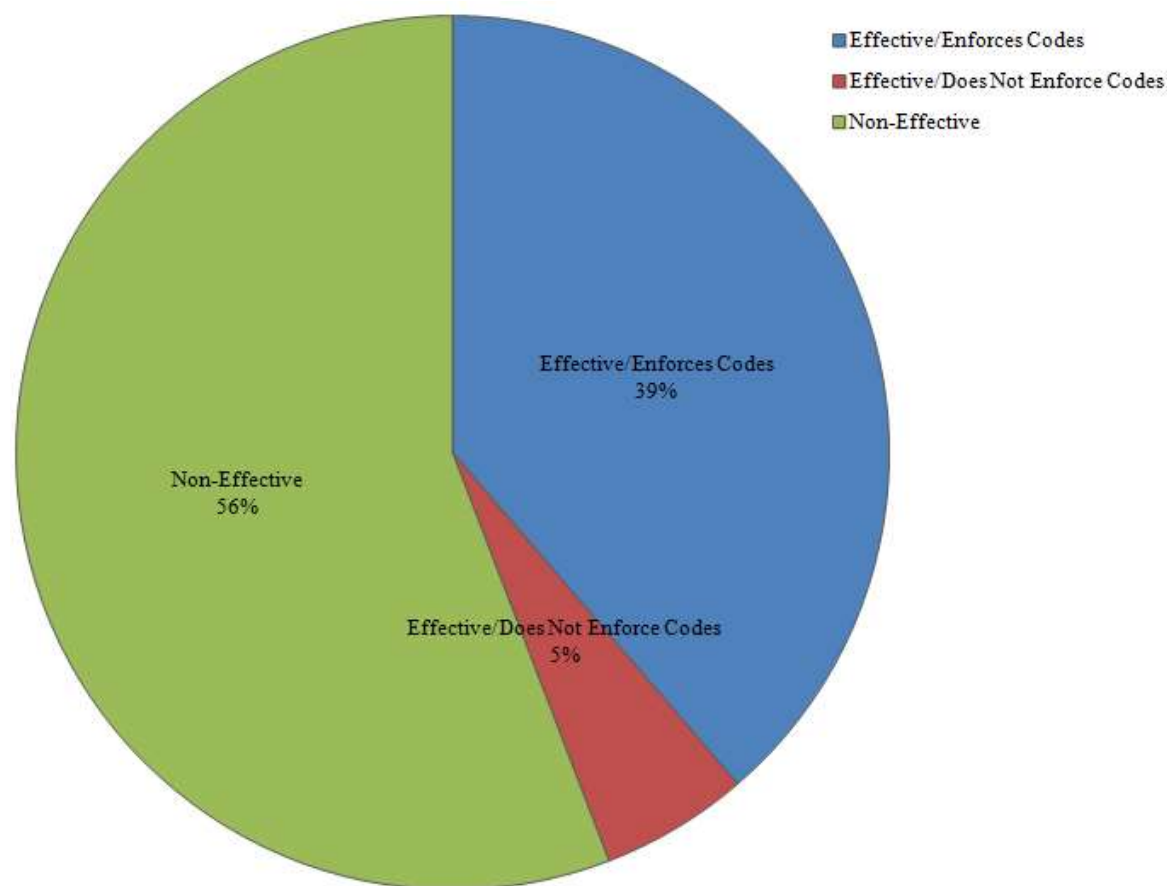
Participants from South Africa noted that government should not control the media. They said that their constitution guaranteed freedom of the media so the idea of government controlling the press should not be entertained. Participant 5 (male) observed that “As I said in South African media freedom is guaranteed. So the question will not come up about whether the government can control the media.” But in terms of supporting the government they noted that the media should support the government and at the same time being critical of what the government is doing. Participant 3 (male) noted that:

Yes we can support the government but we do not need to forgo our watchdog role. It has to be part of daily activity. But still where government does well let us compliment it and where it does wrong let us be honest with that. Do not take any side as journalists. And the fact is national development is something everyone has to contribute to. But in that process do not lose your role as a journalist.

The need to hold the government accountable is important and journalists should not just conform to the authority of the government the participants said. Participant 3 (male) said “If it is in the interest of the public but it is by conformity you mean regulation and licensing of journalists then I would say no.”

RQ6: How are the codes enforced in your country? And how are they not enforced?

Figure 6: Self-regulatory process/code enforcement



The pie chart indicated the broad view of the participants regarding how effective the various self-regulatory bodies in Sub-Saharan Africa were in enforcing the codes. The findings indicated

that more than half of the participants said that the self-regulatory bodies were non-effective in enforcing the codes. And less than half of the participants stated that the self-regulatory bodies were effective in enforcing the codes. Lastly, a very small number of participants said that the self-regulatory bodies were effective but do not have what it takes to enforce the codes.

These professional associations wrote the codes as well as being responsible for the enforcement. To answer the research question how the codes are enforced or not enforced, the participants were asked the same question contextualizing it to their respective countries. All the participants noted a form of self-regulatory mechanism in their countries. In their views the self-regulatory mechanism is the process where ethical infractions that go against the spelt out values in the journalism codes of ethics were addressed.

Participants from Ghana all said that the 1992 constitution of their country which enshrined the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression established the National Media Commission which is a self-regulatory body that adjudicates ethical infractions in Ghana. Participant 3 (female) said:

If a journalist violates the codes of ethics of the profession that person is summoned to appear before the disciplinary committee and sanctions have been outlined depending on the gravity of the offense sanctions are applied. It goes beyond there because we also have media commission has a committee like that whereby journalists who violate the codes of ethics appear before the committee and sanctions are meted out to them.

Another participant observed how the process of self-regulation works in Ghana. Participants 5 (male) said:

We have a code. If there is an infraction on the part of a journalist the association, per se, does not take legal actions. The national media commission will invite the person and there would be a kind of dialogue. And if it is found out that one has erred or gone contrary to the code there is a retraction, but people also go the other way where they sue for certain damages. So we have the national media commission intervention and we have the legal intervention where people sue for defamation. But the paramount tender of the constitution committee is that you can seek redress with the national media commission.

But on the issue of how the codes were enforced in Ghana the participants overwhelmingly said that the codes were not properly enforced. This means that the codes of ethics of Ghana Journalism Association were not effective. This is the general consensus of the participants. The reason they gave for the ineffectiveness of the codes of ethics was that the National Media Commission does not enforce the codes. The sanctions were well spelt out but it lacks the capacity to enforce them. Participant 3 (female) said “But unfortunately, the sanctions are not all that strong so as to deter others from that kind of behavior because we do not have that power.”

Participant 4 (male) said:

If you look at the Ghana Journalism Association (GJA) constitution which we are reviewing at the regional level it is clear the constitution mentioned all the things we do not want to do. But when we do them we are not able to punish them. The worst we can do is to suspend them for a while. And this is not punitive enough.

Another participant observed the lack of enforcement of the code. Participant 6 (male) had this to say “Like I said the national media commission is there but they do not have the teeth to bite.”

On the of training of journalists which is part of the professional self-regulatory mechanisms the participants observed the necessity of training and retraining of journalists. All the participants unanimously agreed that training and retraining will help in shaping the professional performance of journalists. Participant 4 (male) observed that “Training has significant influence on journalism because a person who does not understand the elements of ethics, will not understand the elements of professionalism.” And when asked about the availability of the provision for training for those who are already in the field they answered that such provisions were available from the Ghana Journalism Association, from different media platforms and from NGOs. Participant 6 (male) said:

Yes the organizations we work it may be not enough but sometimes they do. What some of us do at personal level we try to upgrade ourselves by way of going to school and all that. Civil society groups who are into media activities being so collaborative organize some of these workshops. Every now and again they come and invite some of us and some other people may be through the GJA or through our own efforts and collaborations. They come and give us training on current trend like fake news or how to use technology, smart gadgets those training do come sometimes not necessarily from our organizations they do some but it is mostly from the civil society groups, national partners who are interested.

Ghana and Nigeria share a similar story. The Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) is the umbrella association for all journalists as established by the Nigerian constitution. The NUJ formulated the codes of ethics for all journalists as well as being the enforcer. To oversee that the codes are kept and practiced by journalists the NUJ founded a disciplinary committee to adjudicate ethical

infractions among its members. All the participants from Nigeria noted the existence of the self-regulatory mechanism in Nigeria called the Disciplinary Committee. Participant 5 (male) said:

Yes there are measures. We have the Nigerian press council there and the NUJ there. And under the NUJ we have ethics and disciplinary committee while the public are supposed to report such to the ethics and disciplinary committee that will take appropriate sanctions to be taken on erring journalists to deter them and others from following in that direction. But the case is that most time people do not report either they do not know or they do not take advantage of the ethics and disciplinary committee.

Participant 6 (female) put it this way:

Yes, there are measures like disciplinary committee in the NUJ that disciplines defaulting members. Once they find out after investigation the journalist can be sanctioned for operating, suspended. Once the committee tries you after investigation found you guilty there are lot measures that are put in place for the person.

On the issue of how the codes were enforced the participants have the general consensus that the codes are not properly enforced. The disciplinary committee of the NUJ does not have what it takes to enforce the codes on erring journalists in Nigeria. Participant 1 (male) said this in this regard “The codes are not well enforced but it will be very difficult for you to enforce it.” This view of lack of proper enforcement of the codes was echoed by another participant who said “So most of the times we are faced with difficulty in ensuring that people face the consequences of their actions.” (Participant 2, M).

Participant 3 (male) observed that:

The mechanisms are there but it is the implementation that is that is the issue. In Nigeria we have the best regulations that you can think about. So the only body that sanctions journalists though not directly but they only sanction the station even though the incident was done by a journalist is the NBC. And the NBC honestly speaking I am not speaking on behalf of the government or them but the NBC has controlled a lot of excesses of a lot of journalists. These are things that the NUJ should be doing.

For clarification sake, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) is not a self-regulatory mechanism but a government regulatory body charged with the responsibility to regulate and control the broadcasting industry in Nigeria. This could be seen as a kind of interference on the part of government.

On training of journalists the participants said that training is important especially as new technology emerges in the media industry. This helps in capacity building in journalists. Participant 1 (male) said:

The world is changing and before we were talking about telegram, it came to a time we started using fax in sending stories, now emails and different forms of electronic means to send stories. Now any journalist who is not well trained in terms of the use of social media, in terms of verification of information like pictures because somebody can pull a picture from Congo war and come and put it in story in Nigeria. If you do not train journalists it will not build the capacity for the journalist to operate in this era of computer and jet age.

On the issue of provision for further training of journalists they said that is done by the various media organizations, the Nigerian Union of Journalists and other civil societies who are interested in the media industry. Participant 2 (male) noted:

We reach out to organizations media related organizations interact with them and they create the forum for us to get our people to take part in training programs. I recall that really before I became the president a good number of journalists have traveled to UK, USA taking part in trainings and exposure. It is something we do but the union may not have money but we organizations that are out there you reach out to them, appeal to them they might say ok let us get ten journalists or five journalists that we can sponsor

But in South Africa there is a different scenario. Participants from South Africa observed a unique situation in their country. They noted that their constitution established the Press Council and the Press Council is the custodian of the press codes of ethics. The Press Council in turn established the Media Complaint Commission that looks into complaints from the public as well as disputes between media organizations. Interestingly, this complaint commission is funded by the media organizations who are members of the South African Press Council. And the commission has the independence to operate freely, though, funded by media organizations that they adjudicate in their cases. This is what makes it unique. Participant 2 (female) said in this regard:

We are one of the few regulatory bodies, self-functioning regulatory body that are in the continent. I do not think that there are many of them that are as independent as we are. We get funding not from government but ours is voluntary and completely independent. We get our money from the media owners but we maintain quite a distance from them so

that we can adjudicate on the complaints without any kind of influence from the media or from the government.

Participant 3 (male) corroborated the same assertion by saying that:

So if you look at ethics in South Africa I think South Africa is one of the countries that have strong regulation system which controls the way we do our journalism. But we cannot rule that some journalists receive bribes from other sources we cannot rule that out. But we believe that we have good enough structure that starting from the newsroom perspectives to the national level that is the Press Council of South Africa. At the newsroom level we have self-regulatory system in which I as a journalist as an individual journalist I know what to do and what not to do.

On the issue of how the codes are enforced in South Africa, all the participants noted that the process was that when the Media Complaints Commission received complaints from the public the commission will investigate into the credibility and veracity of the allegation. If it is found to be true the media organization that the journalist works for that publishes the editorial content of the publication is sanctioned. And the sanctions have 100% compliance from the media organizations. Participant 2 (female) said in this regard “So I think we take those issues quite seriously. And as I said we are very lucky that we have 100% compliance from journalists and editors in South Africa when it comes to breaches of the press codes.” And participant 5 (male) said:

Measures are applied to media organizations. So if there is a complaint of a transgression the complaint will be brought against the media organization. And the complaint will be adjudicated on that basis and the media organization will be sanctioned in whatever way

if they were wrong. And then it is a matter of the prerogative of the media organization to decide how they want to deal in terms of their own personal regulation or internal policies and editorial codes with journalist who transgressed.

On the effectiveness of the enforcement of the codes of ethics that nullifies the other part of the question, the participants overwhelming said that the enforcement was effective. This is done by the Media Complaints Commission under the Press Council mandating the defaulted media organization to publish an apology on the front page of their newspaper that would be around 36 inches. Participant 3 (male) noted that the sanctions were so enforced and effective:

In my findings from the thesis the new system was so effective that the people who use this system are impressed and they are happy. Because from the people I sampled and their experiences going through the process they were satisfied. So far the new system is very effective. And why am I saying it is effective we even looked at the punishment which the regulatory system has got the power to tell any editor to apologize and put it in a front page and it would be 36 inches and so forth. By that the various media houses are so afraid they cannot do any stupid thing. They have to make sure what they do is something they can defend if the Press Council stand and ask them why doing this. So now there are strict measures in the newsroom and the journalists working in those newsrooms are afraid of their bosses and the bosses are afraid of the Press Council. At the end of the day we are having a very efficient system so far.

Another reason for the effectiveness of the codes as well as its enforcement in South Africa was articulated by one of the participants. Participant 2 (female) had this to say

It is very important because people see the Press Council as a body that is very credible. In this kind of era of misinformation and disinformation we are finding that people want to belong to an organization where they can be held accountable and credited as a credible news organization.

Participant 5 (male) on his part noted that:

I think to a large extent it does. I mean no media want to lose credibility by getting fines on a regular basis against them. The very fact that the media have been very good in publishing corrections ordered by the press ombudsman nobody wants to publish a big correction on the front page permanently or online. I see this as a big effect by media in South Africa to try act within the ethical code. There is effort by them to take corrective action.

The achievement of the enforcement of the codes has really given the South African Press Council the autonomy to do their job well. In this way the Press Council has established that self-regulation is the only way to guarantee that the freedom of the press as well as the rights of freedom of expression enshrined in their constitution is truly exercised. In line with this, Participant 2 (female) said:

And the journalists feel that if we can strengthen the press council and strengthen the voluntary regulatory body we can keep the government at arm's length which is really what we are trying to do. And I think to an extent we have achieved it because the government no longer in the last few years mentioned the idea of implementing a media appeal tribunal.

On the need for training of journalists the participants observed that it is critical especially in Africa. And it is vital to the development of African journalism. Participant 1 (female) noted “Absolutely, it is important to the development of journalism in Africa. It is critical in Africa.” When asked whether there were provisions for further training they noted that the Press Council and universities and other institutions do offer different forms of training especially regarding the codes of ethics. Participant 3 (male) opined that:

Yes, actually there are a number of things even with the press council there are provisions and issues in the codes of ethics in which they say our journalists need to be trained and be reminded of the content of the press code because it changing every time so there need to be engaged with journalists and understand the issues they are meeting on the ground and updating the press code. And newsroom level we have also seen that there has been encouragement as there is a good working relationship with the press council and media houses. The press council and media houses they come together to look at the problem in the newsrooms from the graduates and others in the newsrooms and what refresher courses to be conducted to bridge the gap.

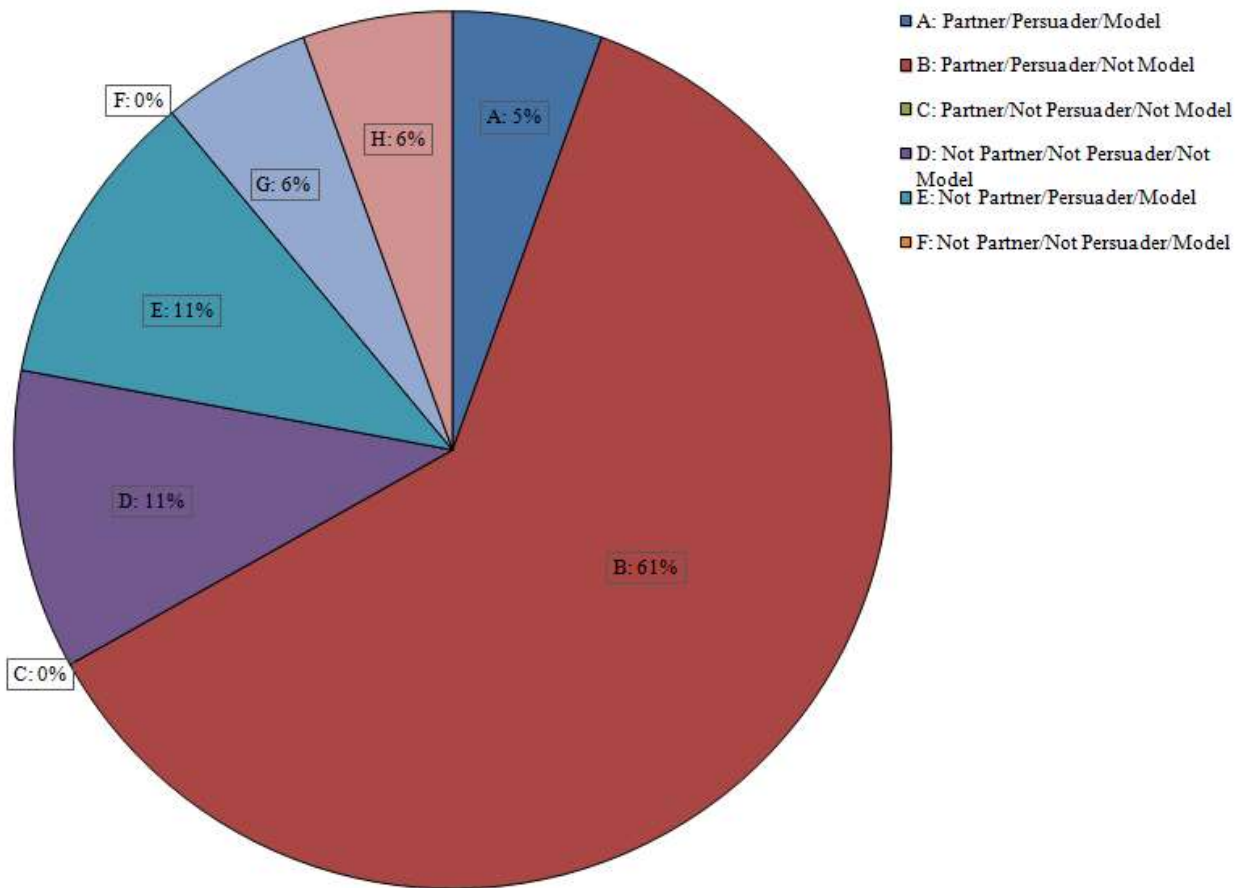
Self-regulatory is the means that journalists use to guarantee their autonomy from both external actors such as government and other pressure groups as well as from international actors as journalists themselves. Through the self-regulatory mechanisms the codes that set the standard of journalistic professional behaviors are enforced and kept. However, the responds from the participants demonstrated that self-regulatory mechanisms in Sub-Saharan Africa were not effective for the most part. In Ghana and Nigeria participants stated that self-regulatory system

was not effective. The story was different in South Africa where the majority of the participants said that the self-regulatory system in their country was effective.

RQ7: To what extent is China seen as a partner, persuader and prototype in your work as a journalist, as well as, in other sectors?

To understand Chinese impact in Sub-Saharan African media particularly in the exemplar countries of Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, the participants from these countries were asked the same question: to what was seen as partner, persuader and prototype in their respective countries. Gagliardone et al. (2012) provided the three dimensions used in measuring the role China in Sub-Saharan African countries. The majority of the participants answered that they saw China as a partner in terms of providing resources, equipment and the training of African journalists. As a persuader majority of the participants saw China as a persuader. This is in terms of China's effort in establishing media outlets and exchanging contents with local media outlets from this lens in terms of shaping favorable perception of China in their respective countries. But as a prototype all the participants overwhelmingly did not see China from this perspective as a prototype. China was not seen as a prototype in terms of providing media model that they could follow to develop their own media systems in their various countries. Regardless of the fact that majority of the respondents saw China as partner and persuader with the African media, they generally said that they do not see the practical effects of the influence in the Sub-Saharan African media.

Figure 7: Chinese influence in Sub-Saharan African media



The pie chart shows the different levels of influences of China and their percentages in the general overview of respondents when asked how they saw China as a partner, persuader and a prototype in their respective countries of Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa.

China as a Partner

Participants were asked how they perceived China as a partner. Generally, they said that they perceived China as a partner in terms of involvement in the on-going training of journalists, giving grants to reporters who showcase this partnership in their writing, and provisions of equipment. Participant 5 (male) from Ghana said:

Currently we have China-African media platform where I think some African journalists have even won grants for reporting stories from their countries. I think the China-African media center training program is only in South Africa. And it is mainly to write stories of the success of Chinese-African business.

Participant 6 (male) observed that:

There seems to be collaborations. I know of the collaboration between Ghanaian journalism association and the Chinese journalism association. The Chinese are taken our people for training for some years now. Every year a batch will go and may be around 15 to 20 from here in Ghana. I feel the collaboration is working and it is quite okay.

When asked how they saw China as partner the participants stated that they saw China as partner in terms of training of exchanging content with local media outlets. China is partnering with local media in content sharing where some of these local media have Chinese content in their program. Participant 3 (male) from Nigeria stated:

There is a lot of collaboration take the Star Times- NTA stuff for instance. Star Times is funding everything there and you know it is a full partnership with NTA. The NTA staff is the ones in-charge of lot things. The fund is coming from China. If you take African Life on CGTN like I told you they have local journalists based in those areas that go out to look for real local stories. It is just that they try to link it with to something from China. And use to portray it. There is that collaboration.

Participant 5 (male) observed:

From my own experience through the shared program we have like I mentioned that recently the NUJ led a delegation to China to understudy how they do things and even

technology wise like what China is doing now they know that Africa is a potential market for them. The new colonialism we are talking about is how market will be built. All the things we do together today are to ensure that China has new market to sell. Technology wise through it we begin to share the way they report and all that. I believe that as they continue to do this exchange program and they will get their inroad into Nigeria and employing our people to work in their media organization gradually they are going to affect us positively.

Some others saw it as way to building a better relationship with African countries and with African journalists. Participant 5 (male) from South Africa stated that “I am sure it is an effort by China to try to build a better relationship with African media organizations and with the African journalists.”

Among those who stated that that was collaboration they also noted that the collaboration was one-sided. Participant 4 (male) from Ghana said:

I have had the opportunity to talk to some of the companies and media organizations that have signed agreements with Chinese Xinhua News Agency, the public media. Clearly they only get news from Xinhua News Agency and they do not use news from the Ghanaian news outlets. That is not collaboration. That is one way and one-sided affair. And Chinese Xinhua News Agency continues to be a big donor giving freely and African or Ghanaian media receiving without questioning. And that I do not see as collaboration but another way of dumping news on us.

Participant 3 (male) from South Africa observed:

Seriously, I have not been impressed so far. This partnership I would say it is one sided, because when they go to China they are exposed to the Chinese media ideologies and Chinese values. This is done for them to have a different view about China when they come down here and report it.

Participant 3 (female) from Ghana echoed the same sentiment when she stated:

The kind of collaboration we have I do not know whether it is even collaboration, because they would rather invite our people to their country to have that kind of training. How many Chinese have we asked to come here for training? What kind of training are they going to get here in Ghana? They do not see anything they can come to our country to come and learn from us apart from businesswise.

There is generally acknowledgement of existing partnership between China and African countries. China has done a lot in the training of African journalists, provision of grants and loans, as well as, provision of equipment. But many of the respondents noted that the existing collaboration was one-sided as China appeared not to be interested in learning from African journalists as well as taking showcasing contents from Africa in Chinese television channels in China.

China as a Persuader

When participants were asked how they saw China as a persuader they responded overwhelmingly that they saw Chinese media in Sub-Saharan Africa as persuader platform. They noted that China was using her media outlets in Africa to influence and promote positive image of China. Participant 1(male) from Ghana stated:

Yes, I can say on authority that due to pressure mounted by the Chinese government the Chinese government was able influence even coverage of the issues involving Chinese. The Chinese government protested against the highlight of pictures of Chinese arrested who are involved in illegal mining on the front page of newspapers. The Chinese embassy refused visa to Ghanaians who are traveling to China. The Chinese government retaliated. And pressure was brought to bear on editors of the media not to highlight issues of stories of arrest of Chinese involved in illegalities.

China was doing this by making available number of its content on the Sub-Saharan African television channels and digital channels. And this is changing the perception of people about China. Participant 6 (female) from Nigeria said:

Yes, because people are really changing their perception towards China. They are really influencing the way we look at them now unlike before. They have taken over and many are looking up to them not just in Africa but all around the world.

Participant 4 (male) from Ghana observed:

To a large extent especially looking at the number of television channels that are on our digital channels that are speaking Chinese to us when many of us do not speak (Mandarin) Chinese language speaking in local languages trying to show us documentaries about China. I think that is all they are paid to do to portray China as being good to us.

The improvement of their image has really helped in the marketing of their goods and products.

Participant 1 (male) from Nigeria noted:

They are using it not only to improve their image in Africa but also want China to be seen as a good partner. There are also using it to make Chinese goods to be good in the eyes of Nigerians. For example when Nigerians see Chinese goods they ah this made in Chinese goods. They are using their medium to lauder their image and to make Nigerians to believe in them.

Some participants saw the huge investments in Africa by China as a way to influence positive perception of them in Africa. Participant 3 (male) from South Africa said:

To an extent they have started to work with Africa mainly to persuade us and make us think positively of them. And that is why you see them investing hugely in terms of grants and loans in Africa. Constructing magnificent buildings that are persuading us to reach to a point of saying whoa this China and they are building what the US, the Britain, what the French have constructed on African continent.

Participant 4 (female) from South Africa stated:

Yes it is there as a persuader. It is there by its presence. It is there by its people. It is there by people settling whereby opening Chinese restaurant or Chinese technology or by Chinese infrastructure. Yes it is certainly as a persuader. And China is an economic power. And it is important that China has to assist with infrastructural development. And has assisted with loans but the terms of these loans are not necessarily transparent but it is there. So yes I think it is there.

The presence of Chinese media, the granting of loans and the building of huge infrastructures in Africa were seen by participants as ways to influence and promote positive perception of China in Africa.

China as a Prototype

When participants were asked how they viewed China as a prototype they responded overwhelmingly that they did not Chinese media in Sub-Saharan Africa as prototype. According to them the system of government in China that is the Communist Party is a one-party state. And it is antithetical to the democratic system of government in Africa that thrives in the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression as well as pluralistic media landscape. Participant 1 (male) from Ghana echoed that:

But there is no evidence whatsoever that Ghana is influence by Chinese media system, no, or Chinese media values. Ours is a democracy and democracy is rooted in freedom of the media. You cannot divorce freedom of the media from our democratic attendances. If Ghana today is a reference point or the measure of democracy it is because of how far the media have gone in Ghana. The media are the oxygen of Ghanaian democracy. And it is so it is rooted in theories that true democracy is impossible without a free media. In the Ghanaian context this is very true.

Participant 6 (male) from Ghana stated:

I do not think so. They prefer one party thing and their media is state controlled. It is working for them but in the kind of democracy we are in it will bring some confusion and it would not work here in Ghana.

Another participant 2 (male) from Ghana noted:

I have not seen much apart from one Chinese news agency I think the Xinhua I have not seen any other. As a model I do not think they have had any strong influence here. I think Africa will always look at the European and American media as a model.

Other participants mentioned that they do not see China as a prototype. This is because they do not trust China yet. Participant 1 (male) from Nigeria stated:

It will be very difficult to change the African media into China media style. Most Africans especially Nigeria you cannot change it even into French media system not even talk of China.

Participant 5 (male) from Nigeria observed:

Chinese media so far as I am concerned in Nigeria I do not know about others in Africa they have not really gotten inroads for us to say that we have accepted them that much to begin to shape our media and our ways of life. Believe it or not because of the colonial experience that we had we mostly exposed to BBC and American related media programs. But for China it is of late that they started getting an inroad. And most Nigerians have not been able from my perspectives to totally trust media content of the Chinese organizations.

Again respondents laid much emphasizes on the media model in China which made it difficult to be replicated in Africa. State controlled media in Chinese system is a huge concern for African journalists who they claimed are independent minded. The African journalists would want different voices to be heard on any issue. Participant 4 (female) from South Africa opined that:

In terms of the Chinese model I am speaking generally in terms of Chinese model and state control media it is not or I think it is alienated at the moment. We are not use to the control, we are not I am generalizing again about Africa to be the mouthpiece of the government. To some extent the state media amplify what is happening there because we do not have a choice. But I think African journalists are more independent minded. They

want the balance, the fairness and they want the ethics. They want the community voice and are important. If the community voice might be the dissecting voice it is important hearing all sides of the story.

Participant 1 (female) from South Africa stated that:

I think China is a model of that, China media being a model of that is still different. China is one country, one communist party, one voice. And if that what you want to see in Africa I would oppose that with every fiber of my being.

China has become a key player in the continent of Africa and Sub-Saharan African countries in particular. The participants noted the importance of China's role and its implication in their respective countries.

The research question on the role of China as a persuader, partner and prototype in the African media showed how the different respondents perceived China in Africa. The influence of these roles is still unfolding as it has earned the interest of African media scholars. But one thing that is demonstrable from the responses of the participants was the ambivalence of the perception of China in Africa. In this regard more than half (61%) of the participants saw China as persuader and partner but not as a prototype in African media. And the data showed two groups at 11% each and they were respondents who saw China either as not a partner, persuader and prototype or as not a partner but as a persuader and prototype. Two other groups had 6% each and they were those who saw China as not a partner but a persuader and not a prototype or they had no answer on being a partner and persuader but they did not see China as a prototype. And the last group had 5% and this group was made up of those who saw China as a partner,

persuader and as a prototype. However, the mixed perception China had made inroad into Sub-Saharan African media sphere but what the future will be remains to be seen.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the influences of the African, Western and Chinese developmental model on African media norms and their effects on the professionalization of Sub-Saharan African journalism. The study noted that the African media is bedeviled with problems. The literature reviewed identified some of these problems ranging from non-performance of African journalism; lack of professionalism, corruption to poor reporting practices. At the heart of this problem is the lack of a defined normative practice in African media. Mfumbusa (2008) in this regard has called for the need to clarify the normative issues underlying media performance in Africa. From the literature the African media is drawn apart by competing influences, namely, Western, African and the Chinese developmental values. Kasoma (1996) argued that “the African mass media’s philosophical (ethical) foundations, their aims and objectives have been blue-prints of the media in the industrialized societies...” (p. 95). Musa and Domatob (2007) have noted that the African journalists are faced daily with conflicting loyalties between the Western professional journalistic values and the demands by African cultural norms that thrive in respect for authority and putting the community interests first.

To account for this *mélange* of influences in African media, Mfumbusa (2008) noted that

Many current journalistic practices and values are readily traceable to the colonial era.

The British, the French and the Portuguese adopted different media philosophies in Africa resulting in disparate media systems. (p. 143).

The different colonial powers established the press in their various territories with its attendant values to help them in the administration of their colonies. This marked the beginning of the

history of African media that gave rise to journalism profession in Africa over time. However, the history of African media and the attendant influences will not be complete without the mention of China. Some African media scholars have argued that China is a neo-colonialist (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). This is the case as China shared in the same motivations with the European colonialists in terms of search for raw materials, pursuit for international markets, and global influence (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). China has also ventured into the African media with its own influences (Gagliardone et al., 2012).

To understand the underlying influences in the Sub-Saharan African media, journalism codes of ethics of these countries were analyzed. Through the content analysis, the study sought to: 1) identify the various values exhibited in the codes, 2) the extent these values reflected Western, African and Chinese values, 3) identify the various functions found in the codes, 4) identify the various professional self-regulatory mechanisms in the codes. Through the interviews with the 18 board members of the professional journalism associations the study sought to: 5) identify normative influences in the operation of African journalists, 6) African weak institution and self-regulatory systems, 7) and the influence of china in African media.

Values Identified in the Codes

In the codes of ethics of 44 Sub-Saharan African countries analyzed 12 normative values were identified: individual, truth, diversity, freedom from government, state interests, nation building, conformity, public diplomacy, community, solidarity, harmony and freedom for community. From these 12 values , the values of individual was found in all the codes. The values of truth and harmony were found in almost all the codes of ethics. And this first group of values was followed by freedom from government and diversity which were found in more than

half of all the codes. Solidarity was found in one third of the codes. The rest of the values state interests, nation building, conformity, community and freedom for community seldom occurred, while public diplomacy was absent.

The identified values that occurred far more in the codes: individual, truth and harmony showed tension in the normative practice. On the one hand the codes espoused the individual paradigm while at the same time it exhibited communitarian paradigm. These are two “conflicting loyalties” (Musa & Domatob, 2007). The normative tension identified in the codes demonstrates the conflict between the individualistic freedom of the West and the African communitarian values that emphasize the centrality of the community. And this suggests multiple value orientation in the codes of ethics of African journalism which could breed normative tension in practice. The values of individual and truth are opposed to the value of harmony. The values of individual and truth cannot trump over the community interests which are encapsulated in the value of harmony. Mfumbusa (2008) noted that in a typical communitarian value system like Africa the community interests go before those of the individual, while in the individual value system like the West the individual interests are rooted in the concept of personal freedom and they are supreme. Christians et al. (1993) argued that individual paradigm was the off-shoot of the Enlightenment era. And “Its deepest root was a pervasive individual autonomy. This point is central to understanding the codes of ethics and the values the Sub-Saharan journalism operated with. This is because it considers the individuals are considered as “...autonomous individuals who considered themselves independent of any authority.” (Christians et al., 1993, p. 21). This is in contradiction with the understanding of the individual in African communitarian paradigm where the individual is seen not as an

autonomous entity but a human being with others. Mbiti (1970) summed up the African view of a person in this statement “I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am” (p.141). Menkiti (1984) argued that the African view of person is rooted “...in an ongoing human community that the individual comes to see himself as man, and it is by first knowing this community as a stubborn fact of the psychological world that the individual also comes to know himself as a durable, more or less permanent, fact of this world.” (pp. 171-172). In this sense, Menkiti (1984) concluded that in the African communitarian paradigm values move from the society to the individuals while in the Western paradigm values move from the individuals to the society. This demonstrates tension in the normative values of the Sub-Saharan African journalism.

Values Reflecting Western, African and Chinese Developmental Values

Western Values

Of the 12 values identified in the codes of ethics 4 of them were operationalized as Western values: individual, truth, diversity and freedom from government. And all four of the values were found in more than half of the codes unlike the other values. Individual and truth were found in all or nearly all codes and freedom from government and diversity were found in about half to two thirds of the codes.

The Western values occurred more than the other values in the codes. And this demonstrated strong influence of the Western values in Sub-Saharan African journalism codes of ethics. This strong influence is traceable to the colonial effects on the African continent. Mfumbusa (2008) argued that to understand the contemporary African media one must interrogate its colonial antecedents. The result points to the historical context of the media

developments in Africa which is a legacy of colonialism (Wasserman, 2006; Salawu, 2009). Banda (2009) argued that the historical context of many of the African countries colors the African journalism. It is this historical context that produced within the Sub-Saharan African codes of ethics "...enduring similarities, many of them rooted in the shared experiences of the legacy of colonial rule, the unsettled politics of the post-colonial era, and the interpenetration of global influences." (Banda, 2009, p. 3). Murphy and Scotton (1987) argued that one of the reasons for the Western media domination of African media landscape was the fact that Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, was the area most dominated by the Western world both politically, socially and culturally for the longest period. The influence of the West on the African media has not eroded as the result indicated. Uche (1991) noted the continued domineering influence of the former colonial powers many years after the independence of African nations and this is particularly obvious in the area of mass media contents. What the result showed was that "The very codes of ethics and professional values used by journalists in Africa today are heavily inspired by Western codes or Western-driven international codes." (Mano, 2009, p. 280).

African Communitarian Values

The 12 values identified in the codes four of them were functionalized as African communitarian values: community, solidarity, harmony and freedom for community. Four of these values only harmony was found in more than half of the codes. The value of solidarity was found in nearly one third of the codes. The other two values community and freedom for community were non-existent in the codes literally because they occurred in less than one-tenth of the codes. Traber (1989) noted that a critical examination of African media will demonstrate

that the African media is not rooted in African values and traditions but in foreign bodies appearing to be African cultural materials. The literature review identified the centrality of the community in the African ethics. Community is at the heart of African communitarian ethos without which it is un-African. Menkiti (1984) argued that the vital contrast between the African view of man and the Western thought is the fact the African view is that the community defines a person as a person, and not some isolated quality of rationality, will, or memory. Kasoma (1996) argued for a communal approach in the practice of African journalism. And he stated “African journalists should start looking into their own culture and precedents for inspiration instead of the North.” (P. 114). The result showed that the African values except harmony were not found in the journalism codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African countries but the strong influence of the Western values. Ugbojah (1972) noted the superimposition of alien culture on Africa by the 19th century which has resulted to cultural and communication breakdown in African continent.

Chinese Developmental Values

The 12 values identified in the codes four of them were denoted as Chinese developmental values: state interests, nation building, conformity and public diplomacy. Three of the values state interests, nation building, and conformity occurred in a negligible number in the codes. Public diplomacy was not found in any of the codes.

The result showed almost the absence of Chinese values in the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan Africa. This result points to the historical context of the development of African media. The history of African colonization showed that China did not take part in the Scramble and Partition of the African continent. Meredith (2010) noted that during the Scramble for Africa at the end of the 19th century, European powers claimed virtually the entire African continent. China is a late

entrant in the development history of African media. And this is noticeable in the absence of its values in the codes of ethics of African countries, particularly the Sub-Saharan Africa.

Various Functions in the Codes

Three broad functions of the codes were identified: accountability to public, accountability to sources/referents and accountability to employers. And these functions were analyzed both in the preambles and in the articles to ascertain prominence and salience in the codes based on occurrence in the preambles and articles. Hsiany and McCombs (2004) noted that object salience or the relative importance of an object is used in media especially in agenda-setting. This work has nothing to do directly with agenda-setting. But their idea is used here only to see the volume of cumulative appearance of objects which increases the salience of the object in the codes. This is to understand where emphases of functions in the codes were. Kumwenda ((2010) in the study of codes of ethics of South African journalism highlighted the importance of preambles to codes as they recognize and draw attention to the significance of issues in the codes. It is expected that functions would be found more in the articles than in the preamble because preambles are very short introduction to the functions while in the articles the nuances of the functions are spelt out in details. The functions of accountability to public and accountability to sources were more in the preambles and articles than other functions, and they showcased where journalistic allegiance in Sub-Saharan African codes were found. And these two functions exemplify the core duties journalists' duty to the public and second to their sources.

Accountability to Public

Three elements were identified under the functions of accountability to the public: truthfulness of information, defense of public rights, and responsibility as creators of public opinion. Truthfulness of information was found in both the preamble and in the articles. In the preamble it was found in one-fourth or a quarter of the codes while in the articles it was found in all the 44 articles of the codes. The defense of public rights was found both in the preamble and the articles. In the preamble it was found in almost half of the codes while in the articles it was seen in nearly all the codes, and responsibility as creators of public opinion was found in both preamble and articles. In the preamble it was found in one fourth or a quarter of the codes while in the articles it was found in nearly all the codes.

The function of accountability to the public with its elements demonstrated the core of the functions of journalism codes of ethics. The salience in the preambles and in the articles showed how important these elements were to journalism. Laitila (1995) argued that this function demonstrated the duty of journalists in democratic societies as informers of the public and watchdogs over the ruling powers. The first responsibility of journalists is to the public and the codes buttressed that. This responsibility cannot be done without truthfulness of information which ranked first in the core values of journalism, defense of public rights and responsibility as creators of public opinion. What this suggests is that African journalists mainly base their professional activities on their accountability to the public. Laitila (1995) argued that perhaps that with the allegiance of journalists to the public as the codes demonstrated the reason for infractions among journalists cannot be said to be in the ethical values of the profession but

perhaps in the institution of journalism or that journalists do not have regard for their codes in terms of using them as a guide to their practice.

Accountability to Sources/Referents

Three elements were identified under the functions of accountability to sources: gathering of information, presentation of information and outcomes for effects of information. Gathering of information was found almost absent in the preamble but was found in all articles of the codes, presentation of information was absent in the preamble but was seen in more than half of the articles, while outcomes for effects of information did not occur at all in the preamble but was found in nearly one third of the codes. It is surprising that these elements under accountability to sources were not salient or found in the preambles as many of the infractions of codes were most likely to come from them. Perhaps this is a shortcoming of the codes.

Under accountability to sources, gathering of information was found in all the codes, while presentation of information was found in three fourths of the codes. What this means is that the codes demonstrated clearly the second allegiance in the duties of journalists their responsibility to their sources. Laitila (1995) argued that these role expectations from journalists could be the basis of the construction of self-regulatory mechanisms in relation to the demands of public interest in gathering of information as well as in the presentation of information. And these were seen in the codes concerning the integrity of the journalism profession such as not using foul means to gather information, not violating the privacy of individual and protecting the identity of sources. Laitila (1995) noted that the codes also protect the internal integrity of the profession against such vices as plagiarization, yellow press, protecting the identity of children, those who suffered violation and victims of crimes. The codes in Sub-Saharan African were

found lacking in the outcome and effects of the information given to the public by journalists. In view of this, what Laitila (1995) said regarding failures among journalists applied to the Sub-Saharan codes regarding the failure to articulate the consequences of information given by journalists “They may contain beautiful phrases about the rights of the public and sources- but are mere words which do not get put into practice.” (P. p. 537).

Accountability to State and Accountability to the Employers

These two functions and their elements seldom occurred in the codes. The seldom occurrence of these two functions demonstrated that the codes of ethics were in tune to their true responsibilities to the public and their sources and not to those in power both in government and positions of authority to whom journalists are called to hold accountable as the ‘fourth estate’. It also demonstrates that the values were in line with the democratic values of the West where the people give power to the government and power belongs to the people. It also strikes at the separation of power where a government does only what it has to do without stifling the freedom of others. Thus, it highlights the checks and balances of the democratic system.

However, the functions of the codes did not reflect any function that is community based. Moemeka (1998) noted what the functions of codes of ethics in African communication would look like when he argued that they should be distinguished by emphasizing respect for elders, supremacy of the community and the serviceability of the individual. In essence, the function of the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African journalism reflected European communication ethics codes. Laitila (1995) opined that

Thus, the most common principles in the European codes emphasizes different aspects of truthfulness, the need to protect the integrity and independence of journalists, the

responsibility of journalists in forming public opinion, fair means in the gathering and presentation of information, protection of the rights of sources and referents, and the freedom to express and communicate ideas and information without hindrance. (p.538)

This is what the African journalists operate on as their codes of ethics.

Professional Self-Regulatory Mechanism

Four elements were identified as professional self-regulatory mechanisms in the codes of ethics: infractions language, accountability language, training for journalists and journalists freedoms. Two out of these four elements, accountability language was found in well over three fourths of the codes, and journalists' freedom was found in more than two thirds of the codes. While the other two elements infraction language and training for journalists seldom occurred in the codes.

What the codes demonstrated with the accountability language and journalists freedoms is that journalists have this enormous freedom to operate in the society but with little or no details in the codes to spell out what the various infractions were in their profession. Heinonen (1995) argued that self-regulation and its mechanisms showcase an understanding between the demands of the society and the needs of the profession. And yet journalists were expected by the public and themselves to be held responsible with the accountability clauses in the codes. This demonstrated a weak self-regulatory mechanism in the codes.

Serwornoo (2019) argued that self-regulatory mechanisms provide journalists the space to work around particular media systems in order to stay effective and responsible. The weak, self-regulatory mechanisms in the codes were buttressed more by the lack of emphasis on the training of journalists which supposed to serve as learning curve in the assimilation of the codes

in the members as well as to impact good practice was almost absent in the codes. Laitila (1995) noted that self-regulatory mechanisms were means to protect the integrity and identity of the profession from outside actors such as government and internal from factors such as vices from journalists.

The Normative Influences in the Operation of African Journalists

Normative theory accentuates the understanding of the role of mass communication in society (Severin et al., 2001). And it helps us to see how media practitioners perceive their normative roles and these roles are influenced by different social and cultural factors. The literature identified these different normative roles of the media in the West, Africa and Chinese developmental values.

Western Influences

The Western influences have shaped the African media since the colonial era (Nduka & Gade, 2018). The core purpose of the Western normative paradigm is to support a marketplace of ideas as the basis for public debate in a democracy (Siebert, 1956). Schudson (2013) argued that the Western media paradigm was an off-shoot of the Enlightenment era that is anchored on human rationality, freedom of expression, diversity of views and the freedom of the press from government control. Under this paradigm the press has a “commitment to truth, objectivity, fairness, inclusivity” (Gade et al., 2017, p. 13). The result of the content analysis and the findings of the interviews demonstrated that these values found as the functions of the media and journalists acknowledged that values of the Western paradigm are the normative influences in their day-to-day work.

When journalists were asked what influences informed their normative practice in an interview they overwhelmingly stated that the Western values were the dominant influence in their work. The findings from these interviews were in sync with the results of the content analysis. Out of the 18 participants interviewed 11 indicated that the Western values were the major normative influences in their journalistic practice in their respective countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa. And the number 11 is more than half of 18 people that were interviewed. And in the content analysis the four Western values of individual, truth, diversity and freedom from government occurred in the codes 140 times. This strong influence of the Western values in Sub-Saharan media could be demonstrated by what the participants have said. The Participants stated that that journalism practice in Sub-Saharan Africa is traceable to the colonial powers as they brought their influence to bear on how journalism is practiced in Africa. Some of the influences could be seen in media laws and the style of training that journalists receive as they are rooted in British style especially in English speaking West African countries. Till date the influence is still felt as the African journalists have not been able to extricate themselves from this colonial influence.

One participant 5 (male) from Nigeria noted the strong influence of the colonial powers on African journalism as he said “We as Africans Nigerians we have not been able to extricate ourselves completely from this influence of our masters. So by my own experience we are still entangled and enmeshed in all the Western ideologies that we inherited.”

The idea of strong Western influence in African media landscape was seen across board in Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. Participants expressed that the African journalism today is a replica of the Western media.

The participants noted the influence of such Western values such as individual, liberty, diversity and freedom from government. These values shape the daily operated values and philosophy of work of African journalists. The African media is more or less an off-shoot of Western media and its values. This is what the results of the content analysis and interviews demonstrated. And this is in line with what the literature review identified as Kasom (1996) argued that the tragedy facing the African journalism is the strict imitation of the professional norms of the West.

African Values Influence

The normative role of the press in typical African system is to serve the interest of the community. The values the press espouses are building solidarity, forging cohesion as well as togetherness in the society. The participants in the interviews noted the centrality of the value of community in their daily practice though the value was absent in the codes. Participants pointed out the unique position the community occupied as some of them articulated that “community plays a key role in the affairs of the media.” And they also noted that it is the role of journalists to promote solidarity by enabling cohesion, togetherness and supporting the interests of the community. Participants from Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa said that African values were important in their work as journalists.

The normative influence of the African values could be seen in the way journalists ask those in government and those in positions of authority questions. They noted that because of some cultural prohibitions the African journalists are reticent in asking those in position of powers questions unlike their counterpart for instance in UK who do not have such cultural inhibitions. Another point in line with this is the respect for elders in the African context.

The African is taught from childhood to be deferent in the presence of an elderly person. Conton (1966) observed that “Africans generally have deep and ingrained respect for old age, and even when we can find nothing to admire in an old man, we will not easily forget that his grey hairs have earned him right to courtesy and politeness.” (p. 21). The effect of this on African journalism is that journalists are handicapped in probing into certain issues in Africa. Some participants made an interesting remark regarding the blurry line between ethics and the demands of respect for elderly people and those in positions of authority in African society. Participant 2 (male) from Ghana stated “One thing about ethics is sometimes in the African tradition it is very difficult to approve certain things for example it will be unethical for you to take a guest to do some work for you without giving the guest a gift. Imagine a guest accompanying the king from Ghana to Sierra Leone and at the end the king gives the guest money and the guest tells the king that he would accept it because of ethics. That poses a challenge tradition verses ethics.” This showed the constant tension between the demands of the profession and the African tradition.

The participants interviewed noted the roles of the African communitarian values in their journalistic practices but it was not overwhelmingly stated as in the way they stated the influence of Western values. Serwornoo (2019) in the study of journalistic codes of ethics of the English speaking West African countries noted the absence of the communitarian ethical values in the wording of the journalistic codes of these West African he analyzed. Serwornoo (2019) concluded that ignoring such a huge aspect of the African values in the codes indicated the kind of journalism education in Africa as well as the Western influences that inspired the practice of journalism in African countries. This shows gap between the codes and praxis in African

journalism as many of the normative African values that inform and influence the way journalists do their work are not found in the codes of ethics.

Chinese Developmental Values

The key to understand the normative role of the press in Chinese developmental values is that the core purpose of the press is “to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to service the state” (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 7). Hachten (1992) noted that in Communist system the press is state-owned and controlled by the state. And the purpose of the state owned media is to propagate the state policies and information must be at the service of the state. Gagliardone et al. (2010) argued that in Chinese developmental media paradigm news is always positive and focuses on the economic development and nation building. Though Chinese developmental values were absent in the codes but in the interviews the participants noted some overlaps in the Chinese values of nation building, conformity with authority of government with the African values of solidarity, harmony and community interests. But one distinguishable mark they stated was in China their values were forced on them but that of African values were inherent in African culture and flow without any external enforcement. Some participants noted a kind of overlap in some of the values especially in state interests but this is only in the sense of the common interests of the society. Participant 5 (male) said “The only overlap comes in the interest of the society and our journalists are promoting the interest of our society.”

However, when the participants in the interviews were asked about the influence of China as partner, persuader and prototype, they overwhelmingly said that they saw China as partner and persuader but not as prototype. Gagliardone et al. (2012) noted that China as partner has provided resources for African countries in building important projects for social and economic

development. And this is in line what the participants stated. As persuader the participants noted that the presence of China in Africa especially through the Chinese media outlets was an effort to influencing positive image of China in Africa. Madrid-Morales (2016) argued that China's media expansion in Africa is predicated on the need for Chinese media to increase their international market share and also for the political objectives of Chinese leadership to use media promote its discursive power globally. This is the whole issue of using the media as the means of soft power paradigm (Alden, Large & Oliver, 2008, Madrid-Morales, 2017, Nye, 2002).

China as prototype, Gagliardone et al. (2012) argued that China's incursion into the African media was to serve as a template for the development of media systems in Africa. But the participants overwhelmingly stated that Chinese media system cannot work in African because of the differences in political and economic systems in China and Africa. In line with the responds of the participants, Severin and Tankard (2001) argued that the roles of media in any society are shaped by the political and economic systems that are obtainable in that given society as well as the level of development in that society.

African social, political and cultural systems do not have the necessarily ingredients that will enable the Chinese developmental values thrive in Africa. The media system that is practiced within an environment is colored by both the social, political and cultural values of the environment (Siebert, 1956); hence, the African social, political and cultural values are not supportive of the Chinese media system.

The research found no demonstrable evidence of Chinese influence in Africa and this is consistent with the findings of previous researches on Chinese influence in African media (Grassi, 2014, Joffe, van Staden, & Wu, 2014, Wasserman, 2016, Madrid-Morales et al., 2017).

The fact that the effects of these influences were not traceable in the African media yet does not mean that it might not happen in the future.

Weak self-regulatory mechanisms and Africa's weak media institution

The literature identified the important role institutions play in the development of professions. Muzio et al. (2013) and Suddaby et al. (2011) have argued that there is the unique interplay between professions and institutions in the development of professions. But the results of the content analysis and the findings from the interviews demonstrated the existence of weak self-regulatory mechanisms and weak institutions in African media. In the content analysis the result showed that the journalists have the freedom to do their job but without the infraction language to spell out clearly the infractions. And in the interviews the participants stated that the self-regulatory bodies do not have the power to enforce the demands of the codes. In general self-regulation aims "to enforce or contribute to the enforcement of the ethical codes a particular activity; those who update and implement the codes are the same agents carrying out such activity." (Aznar, 1999, p. 19).

González-Esteban, García-Aviles, Karmasin and Kaltenbrunner (2011) maintained that self-regulation has nothing to do with self-censorship but a way to safeguard the interests of the media. Self-regulation cannot work without strong institution to enforce it. Journalists to carry out their primary duty to the public must be held accountable through the process of self-regulatory means which is important in every profession. Bertrand (2000) noted that media accountability and self-regulation provide opportunities for journalists to be effective in their job.

The role of institutions in the developments of both in economics and nations in general has been noted by many scholars (Rodrik, Subramania & Trebbi, 2004, Dollar & Kraay, 2003).

Gade et al. (2017) argued that societies establish institutions to take care of the needs of society, not organizations. This is because “Throughout history institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty...” (North, 1991, p. 97). In societies where institutions are absent or weak like in Africa development is difficult. Williamson (2009) noted that institutions are important not only for economic development but also for development in general. However, the literature identified that one of the reasons for the existence of weak institutions in Africa is because of the colonial heritage (Shirley, 2005, Acemoglu et al., 2001, 2002).

Colonial heritage was one of the reasons for the existence of weak institutions in general and by extension weak media institutions in Africa. North (1990) argued that the colonial powers established institutions that mirrored their own. We see this especially in the way African media was created and developed by the colonial powers without considering the values and the cultures of the African society. Gade et al. (2017) noted that another reason for the weak institutions in Africa is that in new democracies such as Africa societal institutions are not well established and they are less stable. In the African media we see the combination of these two reasons for weak institutions. Alhassan and Kilishi (2018) have argued that there is a correlation between weak institutions and underdevelopment. Thus, they opined that “countries with weak and inefficient institutions are highly underdeveloped while those with strong and efficient institutions are developed.” (p. 1).

When the participants were asked how the codes were enforced or not enforced in their countries the majority answered that the bodies charged with enforcing the codes were not effective in enforcing the codes. Some of the participants noted that the self-regulatory bodies

“do not have the teeth to bite” and that “the sanctions are not strong enough” as well as “we do not have the power to enforce the sanctions.” These are the repeated phrases from the respondents regarding the self-regulatory bodies that are charged to enforce the codes. With the exception of the Media Complaint Commission in South Africa the rest of the bodies do not have what it takes to enforce the codes in their various countries.

Another sign of a weak profession is the voluntary nature of the self-regulatory bodies. The respondents noted that there were many journalists who do not belong to these regulatory bodies and yet they function as journalists. When these journalists who do not belong to the associations default the self-regulatory bodies do not have any leverage over them. They cannot sanction them nor punish them for violating the codes. This is a serious issue the participants raised and it is affecting the self-regulation of journalists in Africa. And this shows the existence of weak self-regulatory mechanism as well as weak media institution in African journalism.

Scholars have noted that weak institutions breed corruption in a society (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2008). And the literature noted that one of the problems that bedeviled the African media is corruption in the form of brown envelope (Gade et al., 2017, Kasoma, 2010, Nwabueze, 2010, Skjerdal, 2010). Brown envelope is a phenomenon that exists in African professional journalism where journalists expect money or gifts in exchange for their duty. This is a form of corruption because it creates conflict of interests and it affects the performance of journalists to operate fairly and independently. To curtail corruption practices and to improve governance there is need to strengthen African media institutions (Svensson, 2005). Gade et al. (2017) have argued that the practical implication of weak institution both for the news media and societies in general is that it hampers growth and development and breeds corruption.

Professionalization of African Media

The practical implication of weak self-regulatory mechanisms, Africa's weak media institution and the failure to evolve a normative paradigm is that it paralyzes professional development of African journalism. Professions by definitions are self-governing and codes of ethics are an expression of the profession's core values. These essential ingredients of professionalism are found in the African media regardless of how effective they are. And the crux of the matter is the values in the codes are more Western than African. Professional journalism values in much of Africa are borrowed from colonial powers and not anchored on African values as much as Western. Gade et al. (2011) noted that the essential function of professionals is they place high premium on public service. And journalists in Africa avow that their primary duty is to the public.

Caplow (1954) and Wilensky (1964) noted some of the formal criteria for the establishment of professions which include a framework that will guide the values of the profession and the behavior of individual such as the codes of ethics; the occupation becomes full time; professional association; and training. The African media has met the above requirements in the establishment of a profession. However, the result of the content analysis and the findings from the interviews demonstrated serious gaps especially in training, enforcement of the codes and the failure of journalists to obey their codes. Codes of ethics are the guiding principles of a given profession and they are one of the criteria of professionalism. This is because it guarantees a sense of autonomy for professions from outside control or pressure especially governments. They prescribe the values that really influence organizational behaviors both on the micro and macro levels.

Codes of ethics are self-regulatory means of controlling professional behavior and mechanism for professional accountability. Serwornoo (2019) argued that codes of ethics as self-regulatory mechanism provides the working tool for professionals to be effective and responsible. For the professionalization of African media the codes of ethics must be kept by journalists to maintain the integrity, identity and credibility of the journalism profession.

The need for training that journalists expressed in the interviews brought to the fore the need to train journalists in good practices that will curtail corruption in African journalism as well as the development of the profession. In this case the codes did not reflect the reality of the professional needs of journalists. Professions in general require training as a process to impart specific body of knowledge (Abbot, 1988, Hughes, 1965). The importance of training in profession is that it reinforces the professional values in the members. Gade et al. (2017) argued that formal education and training are the frameworks that make available knowledge base that guide values and norms of professional work. For this reason, Gade et al. (2017) concluded that associations reinforce professional values through training program, developing codes of ethics among others. Therefore, the professionalization of African media requires an established framework that provides training and re-training program for journalists in order to reinforce and update their developmental growth, the professional values as well as the needs of the profession.

The limitation of this research work is that it lacks an in-depth study of French speaking Sub-Saharan African countries because of language barrier. And not all the codes of the 48 countries in the Sub-Saharan African region were found and analyzed. Despite these short comings, the study has contributed to the deeper understanding of the various influences in the Sub-Saharan African media and has enriched the normative theory of the African media by

filling the gap that existed regarding the absence of the systematic analysis of the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African media. Lastly, the study has shown that the perceived influences of China in African media were not apparent as it feared and talked about in the academic circles of the African media.

Future study can take a more robust quantitative or qualitative inquiry into the effect of normative failure in any of the country to understand deeper the impact on journalism profession. And such future research can show where the normative failures have more effects in the development and growth of the profession journalism as well as contribute solutions to the problem.

Future research can explore concept/values of African communitarianism and *Ubuntu* (e.g., different senses of property, labor, and family) that can be understood as distinct from Western communitarian ideals. Furthermore, the normative measures in the study can be refined, perhaps, defined more precisely, especially in regard to conceptual overlap (e.g., differences between African and Western communitarianism, overlap between African sense of harmony and Chinese sense of solidarity).

Future research can take studies of media content to determine extent to which these values can be identified in the journalism produced by African journalists.

CONCLUSION

The research work has given a deeper understanding of the normative failure in the Sub-Saharan African media. The various influences were identified and studied deeply in order to understand the ramifications to the development of African journalism. Journalistic practice is conditioned by the social, economic, and political and the culture of the environment the profession is practiced, the values of Sub-Saharan African journalism epitomized in the codes of ethics do not portray the social, economic, political and the cultural realities of Africa. This finding contradicts the basic philosophical assumption of journalism normative theory that the press "... always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (Siebert, 1956, p. 1). And media historian Schudson (2013) argued that news is a cultural form that reflects the values and practices of a particular people in a given place and time. And the effect is that African journalism cannot develop professionally while practicing borrowed and foreign values. This brought out the historical context of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the development and growth of African journalism. The "Hierarchy of influences model" by Reese and Showmaker (1996) was used to guide the study which examined the ideological and external influences on the African media.

The contribution of this research to the body of knowledge is that it filled the gap that existed in the literature regarding the systematic analysis of the codes of ethics of Sub-Saharan African journalism. And the finding enriches the normative theory of the African media. The study gave an empirical insight into the various influences currently in the African media. And argued that to strengthen the professional development of African journalism there is need to harmonize and create a normative structure that will incorporate the various influences Western,

African and Chinese into a theory that shapes and guides journalism profession. The truth is that these influences are not going away but will remain as part of influences in African media.

The work critically looked at the effects of the perceived Chinese influence in the Sub-Saharan African journalism both in the codes of ethics and in the voices of journalists. The finding demonstrated that the Chinese developmental values of the media were not apparent in the normative practice of the African media. And this finding is consistent with previous researches that have looked at the possible effects Chinese effort in African media (Gagliardone et al., 2012; Madrid-Morales & Wasserman, 2017). However, the Chinese developmental media values may not be present normative practice of African journalists now, the interview data demonstrates that China is being perceived as partner and persuader by African journalists. What this suggests is that there is future potential of China influencing the normative practice of African media.

The literature and the findings demonstrate that the adoption of the code of ethics from the West is not working for African journalism (Christians & Traber, 1997). This suggests African journalism should develop a code of ethics that has a more communal approach in solving issues of African journalism. (Kasoma, 1996, Christians, 2004, Merrill, 2004). The communal based code of ethics will accentuate the centrality of community and other African values. This research work supports previous scholarly work on *Ubuntu* as the communitarian ethics for the African media (Christians, 2004, Metz, 2015).

REFERENCES

- Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions: An essay on the division labor*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. (2008). The role of institution in growth and development. *Working Paper*, No. 10, 1- 44.
- Ajayi, J. F. A. (1989). Africa at the beginning of nineteenth century: Issues and prospects. In J. F.A. Ajayi (Ed.), *General history of Africa VI: Africa in the nineteenth century until the 1880s*. Berkeley, California: The University of California Press.
- Ake, C. (2000). *Feasibility of democracy in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Books.
- Ake, C. (1988). The political economy of development. *International Science of Journal*, 118, pp. 485- 497.
- Ake, C. (1987). The African context of human rights. *Africa Today*, 34(1/2), 5- 12.
- Akhavan-Majid, R. (2004). Mass media reform in China: Toward a new analytical framework. *Mass Communication Faculty Publication*, 2.
https://repository.stcloudstate.edu/comm._fapubs/2.
- Alemazung, J. A. (2010). Post-colonial colonialism: An analysis of international factors and actors marring Africa socio- economic and political development. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(10), 62-84.
- Alden, C. & Alves, A. C. (2008). History and identity in the construction of China's Africa policy. *Review of African Political Economy*, 115, 43-58.

- Alden, C., Large, D., & Oliveira, R. S. D. (Eds). (2008). *China returns to Africa: A rising power and a continent embrace*. London: Hurst Publishers.
- Alhassan, A., & Kilishi, A. A. (2018). Weak economic institutions in Africa: a destiny or design? *International Journal of Social Economics*, 55, 43, pp. 1-16.
- Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(1), 39- 47.
- Alvesson, M. (2003). Beyond neo positivists, romantics and localists: A reflective approach to interviews in organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, 28(1), 13- 33.
- Ansah, P. A. V. (1988). In search of a role for the African media in the democratic process. *African Media Review*, 2(2), 1- 16.
- Ansah, P.A.V. (1996). The media, yesterday, today and tomorrow. In A. Gadzekpo, K. Karikari and K. Yankah (Eds.). *Going to town: The writings of P.A.V. Ansah* (vol.1). Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Anshan, L. (2007). China and Africa: Policy and challenges. *China Security*, 3 (3), 69- 93.
- Ansu-Kyeremeh, K. (1997). *Communication, education and development: Exploring an African cultural setting*. Accra, Ghana: Ghana University Press.
- Antwi-Boateng, O. (2017). New world order neo-colonialism: A contextual comparison of contemporary China and European colonization in Africa. *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 10 (2), 177-195.
- Aron, J. (2002). Building institutions in post conflict African economics. *Discussion Paper*, no. 2002/124.

- Asante, R., Norman, M., Tzelgov, E., & Lindberg, S. I. (2013, October). Media in West Africa: A thematic report based on data 1900- 2012. *V. Dem Thematic Report Series*, No. 1. Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute.
- Asiwaju, A. I. (1985). *Partitioned Africans: The conceptual framework*. New York: St Martin press.
- Aznar, H. (1997). The debate on the usefulness of journalistic ethical codes. *Análisi*, 20, 125-144.
- Baker, C. E. (2002). *Media, market and democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Blake, C. (1993). Traditional African values and the right to communicate. *African Media Review*, 7(3), 1- 17.
- Banda, F. (2009). Kasoma's Afriethics: A reappraisal. *The International Communication Gazette*, 71:227.
- Banda, F., Beukes-Amiss, C. M., Bosch, T., Mano, W., McLean, P., & Steenveld, L. (2007). Contextualising journalism education and training in Southern Africa. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 28(1&2), 156- 175.
- Bandyopadhyay, S., & Green, E. (2016). Precolonial political centralization and contemporary development in Uganda. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 64(3), 471-508. doi: 10: 1086/685410.
- Barton, F. (1979). *The press in Africa: Persecution and perseverance*. New York: Macmillan.
- Bayeh, E. (2015). The political and economic legacy of colonialism in the post-independence Africa. *International Journal in Commerce, IT & Social Science*, 2(2), 89-93.

- Bbaala, P. (2015). Emerging questions on the shifting Sino-Africa relations: Win-win or win-lose? *Africa Development*, 40 (3), 97-119.
- Becker, L. B. & Vlad, T. (2011). Where professionalism begins. In W. Lowery & P. J. Gade (Eds.), *Changing the News: The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times* (pp. 249- 269). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Behrens, K. (2013). Two normative conceptions of personhood. *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*, 25, 103- 118.
- Benson, R. (2008). Journalism: Normative theories. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication* (pp. 2591- 2597). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Bertrand, C., & Bourdeau, L. (2010). Research interviews by Skype: A new data collection method. In J. Esteves (ed.), *Proceedings of the 9th European Conference on research Methodology for Business and Management Studies* (pp. 70- 79). Madrid: Spain.
- Bertrand, C. J. (2000). Media ethics and accountability systems. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction.
- Besley, T. & Reynal-Querol, M. (2013). The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 108(2), 319- 336.
- Blin, B. (1993). Ethical aspects of journalism. *International Affairs*, 9, 39- 43.
- Boettke, P. J. & Coyne, C. J. (2009). Context matters: Institutions and entrepreneurship. *Foundations and Trends in Entrepreneurship*, 5 (3), 135- 209.
- Bokamba, E. (1984). French colonial language policy in Africa and its legacies. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 14(2), 1- 35.

- Boyer, P. (2001). Cultural assimilation. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Science* (3032- 3035). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Börzel, T. A. & Risse, T. (2009). The diffusion of (inter) regionalism: The EU as a model of regional integration. *KFG Working Paper 7*. Freie Universität Berlin.
- Bourgault, L.M. (1995). Mass media in Sub-Saharan Africa. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Bowen, P., Rose, R., & Pilkington, A. (2017). Mixed methods and practice: Sequential, explanatory approach. *International Journal of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods*, 5(2), 10-27.
- Bowles, S. (1998). Endogenous preferences: The cultural consequences of market and other economic institutions. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 36(1), 75- 111.
- Breslin, S. (2011). The ‘China model’ and the global crisis: From Friedrich list to a Chinese mode of governance? *International Affairs*, 87(6), 1323-1343.
- Bresnen, M. (2013). Advancing a ‘new professionalism’: Professionalization, practice and institutionalization. *Building Research & Information*, 41(6), 735-741.
- Broodryk, J. (2008). Understanding South Africa: The Ubuntu way of living. Pretoria: Ubuntu School of Philosophy.
- Brown, R. (1989). Knowledge is power: The diffusion of information in early America: 1700-1865. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burgh, H. D. (2005). Making journalists. London: Routledge.
- Burnard, P., Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Analysis and presenting qualitative data. *British Dental Journal*, 204, 429- 432. doi: 10.1038/sj.bdj2008.292.

- Burnett, R., & Marshall, P. D. (2003). *Web theory*. Routledge.
- Burrage, M., & Torstendahl, R. (Eds.). (1990). *Professions in theory and history: Rethinking the study of the professions*. London: Sage.
- Callahan, W. A. (2015). Identity and security in China: The negative soft power of the China dream. *Politics*, 35(3-4), 216-229.
- Caplow, T. (1954). *The sociology of work*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carmody, P., & Owusu, F. (2007). Competing hegemons? Chinese versus America geo-economic strategies in Africa. *Political Geography*, 26 (5), 504- 524.
- Carr-Saunders, A. M., & Wilson, P. A. (1933). *The professions*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Chasi, C. T. (2015). Provisional notes on Ubuntu for journalists covering war. *International Communication Gazette*, 78(8), 802- 817.
- Chen, Q. (2001). “Zai xifei zuo jizhe shinian (Ten Years as a journalist in West Africa). In D. He (Ed.), *Lishi de Zuji—Xinhuashe 70 Zhounian Hui (Footprints of History- collection of Memories of the 70 Anniversary of Xinhua Agency, 1931- 2001* (pp. 398-405). Beijing: Xinhua Press.
- Chinweizu, O.J. (1999). Towards the African renaissance media. In M.W. Makgoba (Ed.), *African Renaissance*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Chidozie, F. C., & Abiodun-Eniayekan, E. N. (2015). ECOWAS and the new scramble for Africa: Interrogating the Francophone/Anglophone dynamics. *Journal of International Politics and Development (JIPAD)*, 13(1), 1-23.

- Christians, G. C., Ferré, J. P., & Fackler, P. M. (1993). *Goodnews: Social ethics and the press*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Christians, C. G., Glasser, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R. A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Christians, C. G. (2004). Ubuntu and communitarianism in media ethics. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 25(2), 235- 256.
- Chu, L. L. (1994). Continuity and change in China's media reform. *Journal of Communication*, 44(3), 4- 21.
- Coetzee, P. H. (2003). Morality in African thought. In P.H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (pp.321-337). New York: Routledge.
- Cook, T. E. (2005). *Governing the news: The news media as a political institution* (2nd ed.). Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cooper, T. (1990). Comparative international media ethics. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 5(1), 3- 14.
- Corkin, L. J. (2014). China's rising soft power: The role of rhetoric in constructing China-Africa relation. *Revista Brasileira de Politica Internacional*, 57, 49-72.
- Creswell, J. W. & Plano clark, V. L. (2012). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating qualitative and quantitative research* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

- Creswell, J. W. (2007). Five qualitative approaches to inquiry. In J. W. Creswell (Ed.), *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed., pp. 53-84). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cuervo-Cazurra, A. (2008). Better the devil you don't know: Types of corruption and FDI in transition economies. *Journal of International Management*, 14(1), pp. 12-27.
- Curtin, P. D. (1975). *Economic change in precolonial Africa: Senegambia in era of the slave trade*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Davidson, B. (1961). *Black mother: The years of the African slave trade*. Boston.
- Davidson, B. (1989). *Modern Africa*. New York: Longman.
- De Burgh, H. (2005). *Making journalists*. London: Routledge.
- Ding, S. (2010). Analyzing rising power from the perspective of soft power: A new look at China's rise to the status quo power. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19(64), 255-272.
- Dirbaba, B.O. (2010). The growing influence of bribery in Ethiopian journalism. *African Communication Research*, Vol.3, No. 3, pp. 475-496.
- Domatob, J. K. (1987). Communication training for self-reliance in black Africa: Challenges and strategies. *African Media Review*, 2(1), 9- 23.
- Domatob, J. K. (1988). Sub-Saharan Africa's media and neocolonialism. *African Media Review*, 3(1), 149- 174.
- Dollar, D. & Kaary, A. (3003). Institutions, trade, and growth: Revisting the evidence. *World Bank Policy Research department Working Paper No. 3004*

- Dowden, R. (2008). *Africa: Altered states, ordinary miracles*. London, UK: Portbello Books Ltd.
- Drechsel, R. E. (2000). The paradox of professionalism: Journalism and malpractice. In *University of Arkansas Little Rock Law Review*. 23(1), 181- 196. Available at: <https://lawrepository.ualr.edu/lawreview/vol23/iss1/11>.
- Durkheim, E. (1964). The rules of sociological method (First published in translation in 1938). New York: Free Press.
- Egbula, M., & Zheng, Q. (2011). China and Nigeria: A powerful South-South alliance. *West African Challenges*, 5, 1- 19.
- Eisenman, J. (2012). China-Africa trade patterns: Causes and consequences. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21(77), 793-810.
- Ekeanyanwu, N. T. & Obianigwe, N. (2012). The Nigerian press, brown envelope syndrome (BES) and media professionalism: The missing link. *Journalism and Mass Communication*, 2(4), 514- 529.
- Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement. *Comparable Studies in Society and History*, 17(1), 1 91-112.
- Ekeh, P. P. (1995). *Kinship and the Hobbesian complex in Africa history*. Buffalo, New York: State University Press of New York.
- Eko, L. (2003). Freedom of press in Africa. *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications*, 2, 95-116.
- Eltis, D. (1987). *Economic growth and the ending of the Transatlantic slave trade*. New York.

- Eltis, D. (2007). A brief overview of the transatlantic slave trade. Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/essays-intro-01.faces>
- Emeakaroha, E. (2002). African world and ideology. A seminar paper presented at the *Theological Department of the University of Vienna, Austria* on March 14.
- Engerman, S. L. & Eltis, D. (2000). The impact of slavery and the slave trade to industrializing Britain. *The Journal of Economic History*, 60(1), 123-144.
- Enuka, C. (2010). The forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC): A framework for China's re-engagement with Africa in the 21st Century. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, 30(2), 209-218.
- Erwin, P. M. (2011). Corporate codes of conduct: The effects of code content and quality on ethical performance. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 99(4), 535- 548.
- Esipisu, I, & Kariithi, N. (2007). New media development in Africa. *Global Media Journal: African Edition* (Online), 1(1), 1-43. doi: 10.5789/1-1-45.
- Evetts, J. (2012). Professionalism: Value and ideology. *Sciopedia.Isa*. doi: 10: 1177/25068460/231.
- Evetts, J. (2003). The sociological analysis of professionalism: Occupational change in the modern world. *International Sociology*, 18(2), 395- 415.
- Eze, M. O. (2008). What is African communitarianism? Against consensus as a regulative ideal. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27(4), 106- 119.

- Faminikwa, J. (2010). How moderate is Kwame Gyekye's moderate communitarianism? Thought and practice. *A Journal of the Philosophy Association of Kenya*, 2, 65- 77.
- Faniran, J.O. (2008). Foundations of African communication. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Farah, D. & Mosher, A. (2010). Winds from the East: How the people's republic of China seeks to influence the media in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Washington: *The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA)*.
- Faringer, G. L. (1991). Press freedom in Africa. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Fensker, J. (2014). Ecology, trade and states in precolonial Africa. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 12(3), 612- 640.
- Fenwick, L. (2009). British and French styles of influence in colonial and independent Africa: A comparative study of Kenya and Senegal. <https://hdl.handle.net/1961/7792>.
- Ferree, M. M., Gamson, W. A., Gerhards, J. & Rucht, D. (2002). Four models of the public sphere in modern democracies. *Theory and Society*, 31, 289- 324.
- Fliegal, F. C. (1993). Diffusion research in rural sociology: The record for the future. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Foeken, D. (1995). On the causes of the partition of Central Africa, 1875-1885. *Political Geography*, 14(1), 80-100.
- Foner, P. S. (2005). The international slave trade. In C.A. Conrad; J. Whitehead; L. M. Patrick & J. Stewart (Eds.), *African Americans in the U.S. Economy Philosophy* (pp.9-13). USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fourie, P. J. (2017). Normative media theory in the digital media landscape: From media ethics to ethical communication. *Communication*, 43(2), 109- 127.

- Fourie, P. J. (2011). Normative media theory in a changed media landscape and globalised society. In N. Hyde-Clarke (Ed.), *Communication and Media ethics in South Africa* (pp. 25- 45). Cape Town: Juta.
- Freidson, E. (1994). *Professionalism reborn: Theory, prophecy, and policy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Freidson, E. (1988). *Profession of medicine: A study of the sociology of applied knowledge*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- French, H. W. (2006). China and Africa. *African Affairs*, 106 (422), 127-132.
- Frynas, J. G. & Paulo, M. (2006). A new scramble for African oil?: Historical, political, and business perspectives, *African Affairs*, 106(423), 229- 251. doi: 10: 1093/afraf/ad1042.
- Nduka, E. L. & Gade, P. (2018). Foreign direct investment and African media: an exploratory study of the impact of Chinese direct investment on content of South African Cape Times. Unpublished work delivered at the 2nd *International Conference on African Media*, Neuchâtel, Switzerland
- Gade, P. J., Nduka, E.L. & Dastgeer, S. (2017). Developing sustainable news media in Africa: A professionalization model to curtail “the brown envelope” and other corrupting influences. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 14(1), 5-24.
- Gade, C. B. N. (2011). The historical development of the written discourses on Ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 30(3), 303- 329.
- Gaglairdone, I. (2013). China as a persuader: CCTV Africa’s first steps in the African mediasphere. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(3), 25-40. doi: 10.1080/02560054.3013.834835.

- Gaglairdone, I., Repnikova, M. & Stremlau, N. (2010). China in Africa: A new approach to media development? *Report published by the programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy* (PCMLP), University of Oxford . Oxford.
- Gagliardone, I, & Pal, N. (2016). Freer but not free enough? Chinese journalists finding their feet in Africa. *Journalism*, 1-15.
- Gagliardone, I., Stremlau, N. & Nkrumah, D. (2012). Partner, prototype or persuader? China's renewed media engagement with Ghana. *Communication, Politics & Culture*, 45, 174-196.
- Gbadegesins, S. (1991). African philosophy traditional Yoruba philosophy and contemporary African realities. New York: Peter Lang.
- Gbenenye, E. M. (2016). African colonial boundaries and nation-building. *Inkanyiso Journal Humanities & Social Sciences*, 8(2), 117-124.
- Gennaioli, N., & Rainer, I. (2007). The modern impact of precolonial centralization in Africa. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 12(3), 185- 234.
- Gil, J. (2008). The promotion of Chinese language learning and China's soft power. *Asian Social Science*, 4 (10), 116-122.
- Golding, P. (1977). Media professionalism in the Third World: The transfer of an ideology. In J. Cuuran, M. gurevitch & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Mass Communication and Society* (pp. 291- 308). London: Edward Arnold.

- González-Esteban, J. L., García-Avilés, J. A., Karmasin, M., & Kaltenbrunner, A. (2011). Self-regulation and the new challenges in journalism: comparative study across European countries. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*. Vol.. 66, pp. 426- 453.
- Gorfinkel, L., Joffe, S., Van Staden, C., & Wu, Y. (2014). CCTV's global outreach: Examining the audiences of China's 'New Voice' on Africa. *Media International Australia*, 151, 81-88.
- Grassi, S. (2014, April). Changing the narrative: China's media offensive in Africa. *International Policy Analysis*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1-9.
- Grimm, S. (2015). Planning FOCAC in its South-South Cooperation narrative. In S. Anthony (Ed.), *FOCAC VI: African initiatives toward a sustainable Chinese relationship* (pp. 32-41). Center for Chinese Studies Stellenbosch: South Africa.
- Gray, V. (1973). Innovation in the state: A diffusion study. *The American Political Science Review*, 67(4), 1174-1185.
- Greene, J. C. & Caracelli, V. J. (1997). Advances in mixed method evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass
- Griffin, L., & Ragin, C. C. (1994). Some observations on formal methods of qualitative analysis. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 23, 4-21.
- Grösswiler, P. (1997). Changing perceptions of press freedom in Tanzania. In F. Eribo and W. Jong-Ebot. (Eds.). *Press freedom and communication in Africa* (pp. 101-120). Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Gu, J., Humphery, J., & Messner, D. (2008). Global governance and developing countries: The implications of the rise of China. *World Development*, 36 (2), 274-29

- Gyekye, K. (2010). African ethics. In E. D. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/African-ethics>.
- Gyekye, K. (2003). African cultural values: An introduction. Accra, Ghana: Snakafa Publishing Company.
- Gyekye, K. (1997). Tradition and modernity: Philosophical reflections on the African experience. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haag, D. (2011). Mechanism of neo-colonialism, current French and British influence in Cameroon and Ghana (Master's dissertation). Barcelona Institute for International Studies.
- Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. *Communication Theory*, 16, 411-426.
- Hachten, W. (2004). Reporting Africa. In C. Okigbo & F. Eribo (Eds.), *Development and Communication in Africa* (pp. 79- 87). Lanhan, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Hachten, R. (1991). The world news prism: Changing media, clashing ideologies (5th ed.). Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Hadland, A. (2012). If the hat fits: Revisiting Chinese 'neo-imperialism' in Africa from a comparative historical perspective. *Asian Politics and Policy*, 4, 467- 485.
- Hafez, K. (2002). Journalism ethics revisited: A comparison of ethics codes in Europe, North Africa, Middle East, and Muslim Arab. *Political Communication*, 19, 225- 250.
- Hailey, L. (1957). An African survey. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Hall, C. M., & Valentin, A. (2005). Content analysis. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 191- 209). Wallingford, UK: Cabi Publishing.
- Hallin, D., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halperin, S. (2016). Neocolonialism. Available from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neocolonialism>.
- Hamelink, C. J. (2011). Media ethics and international organizations. In R. S. Fortner & P. M. Fackler (Eds.), *The Handbook of Global Communication and Media Ethics* (pp. 434-451). Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hanlon, G. (1999). *Lawyers, the state and the market: Professionalism Revisited*. London: Macmillan.
- Harber, A. (2013). China's soft diplomacy in Africa. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(3), 149-151. doi: 10.1080/02560054.852789.
- Hassid, J. (2008). Controlling the Chinese Media: An uncertain business. *Asian Survey*, 48 (3), 414-430. doi: 10.1525/as.208.48.3.414.
- Heinonen, A. (1995). *Vahtikoiran omatunto: Journalismin isesäätely ja toimittajat*. (The conscience of a watchdog: Self-regulation of journalism and journalists). Tampere: University of Tampere.
- Herrscher, R. (2002). A universal code of journalism ethics: Problems, limitations, and proposals. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 17(4), 277-289.

- Himmelboim, I., & Limor, Y. (2008). Media perception of freedom of the press: A comparative international analysis of 242 codes of ethics. *Journalism*, 9(3), 235- 265. doi: 10: 1177/1464884907089007.
- Himmelboim, I., & Limor, Y. (2011). The societal role of journalism- An international comparative study of 242 codes of ethics. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14(1), pp. 71- 92.
- Hoo, Q. C., Yeing, L. S. & Chai, G. E. (2010). Ethics code awareness, usefulness and professionalism of Malaysian journalists. *Journal of Business Systems, Governance and Ethics*, 5(2), pp. 31- 42.
- Honghua, M. (2013). Zhongguo ruan shili de pingzhan yu zengjin fanglve (China's soft power assessment and a strategy to increase it. In M. Honghua (ed.), *Xin yuan ji* (pp. 37- 65). Beijing: Shehui Kexue wenxian chubanshe.
- Horsthemke, K. (2018). African communalism, persons and the case of non-human animals. *Filosofia Theoretica: Journal of African Philosophy, Culture and Religion*, 7(2), 79.
- Hughes, E. C. (1960). Professions in society. *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences*. 26(1), 54-61.
- Hunter, A. (2009). Soft power: China on the global stage. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2, 373-398. doi: 10.1093/cjip/pop001.
- Hussein, A. (2009). The use of triangulation in social sciences research: Can qualitative and quantitative methods be combined? *Journal of Comparative Social Works*, 1, 1-12.

- Hyden, G., & Okigbo, C. (2002). The media and the two waves of democracy. In G. Hyden, M. Leslie & F. Ogundimu (Eds.) *Media and democracy in Africa* (pp. 81-105). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Ibbi, A. A. (2016). The battle for professionalism in journalism in Nigeria amidst unethical practices. *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, 6(3), 1- 5.
- Ibelema, M. (2003). The Nigerian press and June 12: Pressure and performance during a political crisis. *Journalism Communication Monographs*, 4(4), 163- 209.
- Idowu, H. O. (1969). Assimilation in the 19th Century Senegal. *Cahiers d' etudes Africaines*, 9(2), 194-218.
- Ighobor, K. (2013). China in the heart of Africa. *African Renewal*, 20. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/january-2013/china-heart-africa>.
- Ikuenobe, P. (2006). The idea of personhood in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. *Philosophia Africana*, 9, 117- 131.
- Imafidon, E. (2012). The concept of person in an African culture and its implication for social order. *LUMINA*, 23(2), 1- 19.
- Imoh, G. (2013). Mass media and democratic consolidation in Africa: Problems, challenges and prospects. *New Media & Mass Communication*, 16, 42- 58.
- Inikori, J. E. (1982). *Forced migration: The impact of the export slave trade on African societies*. New York: Africana Publishing Company.
- Inikori, J. E. (2002). *Africans and the industrial revolution in England*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Irele, F. A. (2003). Francophone African philosophy. In P.H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (pp.132-135). New York: Routledge.
- Iweriebor, E. E. G. (2011). The colonization of Africa.
<http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanage/essay-colonization-of-africa.html>.
- Jackson, J. (1975). Normative power and conflict potential. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 4 (2), 237-239.
- Jackson, T. (2012). Post colonialism and organizational knowledge in the wake of China's presence in Africa: Interrogating South-South relations. *Organization*, 1-24. doi: 10.1177/1350508411429395.
- Jackson, T, Amaeshi, K., & Yavuz, S. (2008). Untangling indigenous management: Multiple influences on the success of SMEs in Kenya. *Journal of World Business*, 43(3), 400-416.
- Jacoby, U. (2007). Getting together: The new partnership between China and Africa for aid and trade. *Finance and Development*, 44(2), 46- 49.
- James, S. L. (1990). Development of indigenous journalism and broadcast formats: Curricular implications for communication studies in Africa. *African Media Review*, 4(1), 1- 14.
- Jebril, N., Stetka, V., & Loveless, M. (2013). Media and democratisation: What is known about the role of mass media in transitions to democracy. *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*. Oxford: University of Oxford.
- Jinadu, L. A. (2010). Conceptual and theoretical issues in the scramble for Africa. In O. C. Eze & C. A. Anigbo (Eds.), *New Scramble for Africa* (pp. 15- 25). Lagos: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs.

- Jintao, H. (2006, 4 November). Address at the opening ceremony of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Beijing Summit, Beijing.
- Jirik, J. (2016). CCTV news and soft power. *International Journal of Communication*, 10, 3536-3553.
- Johnson, T. J. (1972). Professions and power. London: Macmillan.
- Kaarle, N. (2010). Self-regulation: A contradiction in terms? Discussing constituents of journalistic responsibility. In H. Pöttker & C. Schwarzenegger (eds.), *Journalismus International: Europäische Öffentlichkeit und Journalistische Verantwortung* (417-438). Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag.
- Kanu, I. A. (2019). Supra-ethnic universality of Islam and the ethnocentrism of African culture: Questions of assimilation and resilience. *Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 5(2), 2504-0938.
- Kanu, M. A. (2010). The indispensability of the basic social values in African tradition: Philosophical appraisal. *Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies*, 7, 149-161.
- Karikari, K. (1996). Media ethics and promotion of democratic culture. In K. Karikari. (Ed.), *Ethics in journalism: Case studies of practice in West Africa* (pp. 141-151). Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Kasoma, F. P. (1994b). Media ethics or media law: The enforcement of responsible journalism in Africa. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 15, 22- 35.
- Kasoma, F. P. (2000). The press and multiparty politics in Africa. Tampere: University of Tampere Press.

- Kasoma, F. P. (1996). The foundations of African ethics (Afriethics) and the professional practice of journalism: The case for society-centered media morality. *Africa Media Review*, 10(3), 93-116.
- Kasoma, T. (2010). Zambian PR practitioners' perspectives on "brown envelope" and freebies: Working through the confusion. *African Communication Research*, 3(3), 451-474.
- Kasongo, T. L. (2011). China-Africa relations: A neo-imperialism or a neo-colonialism? A reflection. *African and Asian Studies*, 10(2-3), 234-266.
- Kavalski, E. (2013). The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context. *Journal of Cooperation and Conflict*, 48(2), 247-267.
- Keane, J. (1991). *The media and democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Khapoya, V. B. (1998). *The Africa experience: An introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- King, N., & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Kirwin, M. C. (2011). *African cultural knowledge: Theme and embedded beliefs*. Kenya: MIAS Books.
- Konings, P. (2007). China and Africa: Building a strategic partnership. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 23(3), 341-367.
- Koponen, J. (1993). The partition of Africa: A scramble for a mirage? *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 2(1), 177-135.
- Kowalko, J. (2010). *Ontological ethics*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). Wesleyan University Middletown, Connecticut.

- Krippendorff, K. (2011). Agreement and information in the reliability of coding. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 5(2), 93-112.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004a). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Krippendorff, K. (1989). Content analysis. In E. Barnouw, G. Gerbner, W. Schramm, T. L., Worth., & L. Gross. (Eds.). *International encyclopedia of communication*, 1, 403- 407. New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://repository.unpenn.edu/asc_papers/226.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004b). Reliability in content analysis: Some common misconceptions and recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30, 411- 433.
- Krippendorff, K., & Bock, M. A. (2009). The content analysis reader. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kumwenda, O. V. (2010). The functioning and transformation of press self-regulation in a new democratic media landscape: A case study of the South African press ombudsman. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Witwatersand, South Africa.
- Kunczik, M. (1999). Ethics in journalism: A reader on their perception in the Third World. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung..
- Kupe, T. (2003). Broadcasting policy and practice in Africa. London: Article 19.
- Kvale, S. (1996). Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lacono, V. L., Symonds, P., & Brown, D. H. (2016). Skype as a tool for qualitative research interviews. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2), 1- 25.

- Laitila, T. (1995). Journalistic codes of ethics in Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, 10(4), 527- 544.
- Large, D. (2008). Beyond ‘dragon in the bush’: The study of China-Africa relations. *African Affairs*, 107(426), 45-61. doi: 10.1093/afraf/admon069.
- Larson, M. S. (2013). The rise of professionalism: Monopolies of competence and sheltered markets. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Li, A. (2009a). An analysis of French aid to Africa: Past and present- also on the work of China’s aid to Africa, with some reflections. *West Asia & Africa*, 11, 113-121.
- Li, A. (2007). China and Africa: Policies and challenges. *China Security*, 3(3), 68-94.
- Li, A. (2006). Transformation of China’s policy towards Africa. *Center on China transnational relations Working Paper 20*, presented at International Conference ‘China-Africa links’, Hong Kong, 10-11 November.
- Li, L., Worch, E., Zhou, Y., & Aguiton, R. (2015). How and why digital generation teachers use technology in the classroom: An explanatory sequential mixed methods study. *International Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, 9(2), 1-9.
- Li, S., & Rønning, H. (2013). Half-orchestrated, half-freestyle: Soft power and reporting Africa in China. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34 (3), 102-124. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2013.845591.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). Qualitative communication research methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Louw, D. (2004). Ubuntu and the challenges in post-apartheid South Africa. Utrecht: Center for Southern Africa.

- Lu, J. (2013). How many Chinese are in Africa? Available at [https:// china-africa-jinghuo.blogspot.co.za/2013/01/how-many-chinese-are-in-africa.html](https://china-africa-jinghuo.blogspot.co.za/2013/01/how-many-chinese-are-in-africa.html).
- Lugard, F. D. (1922). *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. London: William Blackwood and Sons.
- Lutz, D. (2009). African Ubuntu philosophy and global management. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 84, 313- 328.
- Macnamara, J. R. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1-34.
- Madrid-Morales, D., & Wasserman, H. (2017). Chinese media engagement in South Africa: What is its impact on local journalism? *Journalism Studies*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1266280>.
- Madrid-Morales, D. (2016). Why are Chinese media in Africa? Evidence from three decades of Xinhua's news coverage of Africa. In Z. Xiaoling, H. Wasserman, & W. Mano (Eds.), *China's media and soft power in Africa: Promotion and perception* (79-92). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makulilo, A. B. (2016). A person is a person through other person – A critical analysis of privacy and culture in Africa. *Beijing Law Review*, 7(3), 192- 204.
- Manning, P. (1983). Contours of slavery and social change in Africa. *The American Historic Review*, 88(4), 835-857.
- Manning, P. (1990). The slave trade: The formal demography of a global system. *Social Science History*, 14(2), 255- 279.

- Manning, P. (1993). Migrations of Africans to the Americans: The impact on Africans, Africa, and the new world. *The History Teacher*, 26(3), 279-296.
- Manning, P. (2006). Slavery and slave trade in West Africa 1450-1930. In A. E. Kwaku (Ed.), *Themes in West Africa's History*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Mann, K. (2007). Slavery and the birth of an African city. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Mano, W., Wasserman, H., & Zhang, X. (2016). China's expanding influence in Africa: Projection, perception and prospects in Southern African countries. *South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 42(1), 1-22.
- Mano, W. (2009). Reconceptualising African media studies. In K. D. Thussu (Ed). *International Media Studies* (277-294), London: Routledge.
- Mapuva, J. Chari, F. (2010). Colonialism no longer an excuse for Africa's failure. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(5), 22-36.
- March, J. C., & Olsen, J. P. (2010). Rediscovering institutions: The organizational basis of politics. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Masolo, D. A. (2004). Western and African communitarianism: A comparison. In K. Wiredu (Ed.), *A Companion to African philosophy* (pp. 483- 498). Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Matolino, B. (2009). Radicals versus moderates: A critique of Gyekye's moderate communitarianism. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 28, 160- 170.
- Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*. 58, 258-279.

- Matthews, M. C. (1987). Codes of ethics: Organizational behavior and misbehavior. In W. C. Frederick & L. E. Preston (Eds.), *Research in Corporate Social Performance and Policy* (pp. 107- 130). Greenwich, CT: Press Inc.
- Mausser, H. (1979). Do we have an African philosophy? In R. A. Wright (Ed.), *African Philosophy: An introduction* (pp. 1-17). Washington: University of Press of America.
- Mazrui, A. (1983). Francophone nations and English-speaking states: Imperial ethnicity and African political formation. In D. Rothchild & V. A. Olorunsola (Eds.), *State versus Ethnic claims: African policy dilemmas* (pp. 25-43). London and New York: Routledge.
- Mbigi, L. (2005). *The spirit of African leadership*. Johannesburg: Knowledge Resources.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1970). *African religion and philosophy*. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.
- McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York, USA: The Guilford Press.
- McCain, L., Granter, E., Hyde, P., & Hassard, J. (2013). Still blue-collar after all these years? An ethnography of the professionalization of emergency ambulance work. *Journal of Management Studies*, 50, 750- 776.
- McKinney, J., Emerson, T., & Neubert, M. (2010). The effects of ethical codes on ethical perceptions of actions toward stakeholders. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 97, 505- 516.
- McMichael, P. (1991). Slavery in capitalism: The rise and demise of the U.S. ante-bellum cotton culture. *Theory and Society*, 20, 321-349.
- McNair, B. (2000). *Journalism and democracy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. (1983). *Mass communication theory*. London and Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

- McQuail, D. (2005). Publication in a free society: The problem of accountability. *Comunicação e Sociedade*, 7, 235- 255.
- Mensah, C. (2010). China's foray into Africa: Ideational underpinnings and geoeconomic interests. *African Journal of Political Science & International Relations*, 4(3), 96- 108.
- Mentiki, I. A. (2001). Normative instability as source of Africa's political disorder. In T. Kiros. (Ed.), *Explorations in African Political Thought: Identity, Community, Ethics*, (pp.133-150). London: Routledge.
- Mentiki, I. A. (2004). On the normative conception of a person. In K. Wiredu (Ed.), *A Companion to African Philosophy* (pp. 324- 331). Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Menkiti, I. (1984). Person and community in Africa traditional thought. In R. A. Wright (Ed.), *African Philosophy: An Introduction* (pp. 171- 181). New York, NY: University Press.
- Meredith, M. (2011). The fate of Africa: A history of the continent since independence. New York: Public Affairs
- Merrill, J. C. (2011). Journalism and democracy. In W. Lowrey & P. J. Gade (Eds.), *Changing the news: The forces shaping journalism in uncertain times* (pp. 45- 62). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Merrill, J. C. (1986). Professionalization: Danger to press freedom and pluralism. *Journal of Media ethics*, 1(2), 56- 60.
- Merrill, J. C. (1974). The imperative of freedom: A philosophy of journalistic autonomy. New York, NY: Hastings House.
- Metz, T. (2020). African communitarianism and difference. In E. Imafidon (Ed.), *Handbook of African Philosophy of Difference* (pp. 31-51). Switzerland: Springer.

- Metz, T. (2015). African ethics and journalism ethics news and opinion in light of *Ubuntu*. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 30(2), 74- 90.
- Metz, T. (2012). An African theory of moral status: A relational alternative to individualism and holism. *Ethical Theory and Moral Philosophy Practice: An International Forum*, 14, 387- 402.
- Metz, T., & Gaie, J. B. R. (2010). The African ethic of *Ubuntu/Botho*: Implications for research on morality. *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(3), 273- 290. doi: 10.1080/03057240.2010.497609.
- Metz, T. (2007a). Toward an African moral theory. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15(3), 321- 341.
- Mfumbusa, B. F. (2008). Newsroom ethics in Africa: Quest for a normative framework. *African Communication Research*, 1(2), 139-158.
- Michalopoulos, S., & Papaionnou, E. (2015). Further evidence on the link between precolonial ethnic centralization and comparative economic development in Africa. *Economics Letters*, 126, 57- 62.
- Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2013). Precolonial ethnic institutions and contemporary African development. *Econometrica*, 81(1), 113- 152.
- Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2011). The long run effects of the scramble for Africa. *National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper Series*, no 17620. <http://www.nber.org/paper/w17620>.
- Miller, J., & Glassner, B. (2004). The inside and the outside: Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (pp. 125- 139). London: Sage.

- Mlambo, C., Kushambu, A., & Simawu, M. B. (2016). China-Africa relations: What lies beneath? *The Chinese Economy*, 49(4), 257-276.
- Moe, T. M. (1990). Political institutions: The neglected side of the story. *Journal of Law, Economics & Organization*, 6, 213- 253.
- Moemeka, A.A. (1998). Communalism as a fundamental dimension of culture. *Journal of Communication*, 48, 118-141.
- Moemeka, A. A. (1987). Communalistic societies: Community and self-respect as African values. In C. Christians and M. Traber (Eds.), *Communication Ethics and Universal Values* (pp. 170-193). London: Sage Publications.
- Molefe, M. (2016). African ethics and partiality. *Phronimon*, 17, 104- 122.
- Molefe, M. (2018a). Personhood and rights in an African tradition. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 45, 217- 231.
- Molefe, M. (2016c). Revisiting the debate between Gyekye-Menkiti: Who is a radical communitarianism. *Theoria*, 63, 37- 54.
- Moumini, A. (1968). Education in Africa. New York: Praeger.
- Moyo, S., & Yeros, P., & Jha, P. (2012). Imperialism and primitive accumulation: Notes on the new scramble of Africa. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 1(2), 181- 203.
- Murdock, G. P. (1967). Ethnographic atlas. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Murphy, S. M., & Scotton, J. F. (1987). Dependency and journalism education in Africa: Are there alternative models? *African Media Review*, 1(3), 11- 35.

- Musa, B. A. & Domatob, J. K. (2007). Who is a development journalist? Perspectives on media ethics and professionalism in post-colonial societies. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 22, pp. 315-331.
- Mutume, G. (2003). Africa takes on the digital divide: New information technologies change the lives of those in reach. *African Renewal*, 17(3), 7- 9.
- Muzio, D., Brock, D. M., & Suddaby, R. (2013). Professions and institutional change: Towards an institutionalist sociology of professions. *Journal of Management Studies*, 50(5), 699- 721.
- Mwambazambi, K., & Banza, A. K. (2014). Developing transformational leadership for sub-Saharan Africa: Essential missiological considerations for church workers. *Verbum Eccles.* (online), 35(1), 1- 9.
- Mwangi, J. M., & Zhang, Y. (2016). A perception study on China's media engagement in Kenya: From media presence to power influence? *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 9(1), 71-80.
- Nassanga, L. G. (2008). Journalism ethics and the emerging new media culture of radio talk shows. *Journalism*, 9(5), 646- 663.
- Ndangam, L. N. (2006). 'Gombo': Bribery and the corruption of journalism ethics in Cameroon. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 27, 179- 199.
- Ndlela, M. N. (2009). New ICTs and social change in Southern Africa. In K. S. Orgeret and H. Rønning (Eds.), *The power of communication: Changes and challenges in African media* (pp. 215- 242). Oslo: Unipub.

- Ndulo, M. (1988). The democratic state in Africa: The challenges for institutional building. *Cornell Law Faculty Publications*, Papers 63.
<https://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/facpub/63>.
- Neal, M., & Morgan, J. (2000). The professionalization of everyone? A comparative study of the development of the professions in the United Kingdom and Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 16(1), 31-34.
- Nelson, A. (2013). CCTV's international expansion: China's grand strategy for media? Washington DC. Report for Center for International Media Assistance/National Endowment for Democracy.
- Nerone, J. (2012). The historical roots of the normative model of journalism. *Journalism*, 14(4), 446- 458.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). The content analysis guidebook. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ngomba, T. (2012). Differing paradigms of media systems development in contemporary Africa: Does the "Chinese model" have a place? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 47(1), 52-67. doi: 10.1177/0021909611417679.
- Njoh, A. J. (2000). The impact of colonial heritage on development in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Social Indicators Research*, 52, 161- 178. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007074516048>.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). Neo-colonialism: The last of imperialism. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- North, D. C. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1), 97- 112.
- North, D. C. (1990). Institutions, institutional change and economics performance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- North, D. C. (1997). The contributions of the new institutional economics to an understanding of the transitional problem. *Wider Annual Lectures*. United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, Helsinki.
- Nasidi, Q. Y. (2016). Media and ethics: Journalism ethics in Nigeria news media. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 21(12), ver.3, 1-6.
- Nwabueze, C. (2010). Brown envelope and the need for ethical re-orientation: Perceptions of Nigerian journalists. *African Communication Research*, 3, 497-521.
- Nwabueze, B. O. (1989). Social security in Nigeria. The 10th anniversary lecture of the Nigeria Institute of Advanced Legal Studies. Ibadan: Intec Printers Limited.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2009). Africa's media: Between professional ethics and cultural belonging. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2005a). Africa's media, democracy and the politics of belonging. London & New York: Zed Books.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (1999). Cameroon: A country united by ethnic ambition and difference. *African Affairs*, 98(390), 101-118.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2004). Global and local trends in media ownership and control: Implications for cultural credibility in Africa. In W. V. Binsbergen & R. V. Dijk (Eds.), *Situating Globality: African Agency in the Appropriation of Global Culture* (pp. 57- 89). Boston: Brill.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2010). De-westernizing media theory to make room for African experience. In H. Wasserman (Ed.), *Popular media, democracy and development in Africa* (pp. 17- 32). London: Routledge.

- Nyerere, J. (1966). *Freedom and development*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Obiagwu, O. V. (2018). The ethical values of African traditional media. *International Journal of Development and Management Review* (INJODERMAR), 13(1), 173- 181.
- Obasanjo, O., & Mabogunje, A. (1992). *Elements of democracy*. Lagos: All Publications.
- Ochieng, P. (1992). *I accuse the press: An insider's view of the media and politics in Africa*. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers and Acts Press.
- Odinye, S. I. (2016). China-African relationship and friendship. *Interdisciplinary Journal of America & Asian Studies*, 2(1), 133-154.
- Ogilvie, S. (2007). What is, is right? Economic institutions in pre-industrial Europe. *CESIFO Working Paper*, No. 2066.
- Okigbo, C. (1987). American communication theories and African communication research: Need for a philosophy of African communication. *Africa Media Review*, 1(2), 18- 31.
- Okiya, D. O. (2019). Forword. In E. J. O. Ndubisi; A. A. Ichaba & J. Nnoruga (Eds.), *Igwebuike Philosophy: An African Philosophy of Integrative Humanism* (pp. ix-xi). UK: AuthorHouse.
- Okolo, C. B. (2003). Self as a problem in African philosophy. In P.H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (2nd Ed.) (pp. 247- 258). New York: Routledge.
- Oliver, R., & Atmore, A. (1981). *Africa since 1800* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Omu, F. I. A. (1978). *Press and politics in Nigeria, 1880- 1937*. London: Longmans.
- Onah, I. (2002). The universal and the particular in Wiredu's philosophy of human nature. In O. Oladipo (Ed.), *The third way in African philosophy: Essay in honor of Kwasi Wiredu* (pp. 61- 97). Ibadan: Hope Publications.

- Onwubiko, O. A. (1991). African thought, religion and culture. Enugu: SNAAP Press Ltd.
- Oruka, H. O. (2003). Ideology and culture: The African experience. In P.H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (pp. 69- 75). New York: Routledge.
- Osman, R. H., Alixiou, C. & Tsaliki, P. (2001). The role of institutions in economic development: Evidence from 27 Sub-Saharan African countries. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 39(1), 142- 160.
- Oyowe, A. (2014). An African conception of human rights? Comments on the challenges of relativism. *Human Rights Review*, 15, 329- 347.
- Palmer, J. (2000). Spinning into control: News values and source strategies. London/ New York: Leicester University Press.
- Pan, S. Y. (2013). Confucius institute project: China's cultural diplomacy and soft power projection. *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 7(1), 22-43.
- Park, Y. J. (2013). Perceptions of Chinese in Southern Africa: Constructions of the 'other' and the role of memory. *African Studies Review*, 56, 131- 153.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Pieter, D. (2005). Habermas, the public sphere and beyond, *Communicatio*, 31(1), 1- 12. doi: 10.1080/025000/6050858008.
- Plano clark, V. L. (2010). The adoption and practice of mixed methods: U.S. trends in federally funded health-related research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16, 428- 440.
- Pope, C., Ziebland, S., & Mays, N. (2000). Analyzing qualitative data. *British Medical Journal*, 320, 114-116.

- Pratt, C. B. (1994). Journalism ethics and the new communication. In P. F. Kasoma (Ed.), *Journalism Ethics in Africa* (pp. 51- 70). Nairobi: ACCE.
- Qu, S. Q., & Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interviews. *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management*, 8(3), 238- 264.
- Quinn, A. (2011, 11 June). Clinton warns against “new colonialism” in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/articles/us-clinton-africa-IDUSTRE75AOR120110611>.
- Ramose, M. (1999). African philosophy through *Ubuntu*. Harare: Mond Books.
- Ramose, M. (2003). The ethics of *Ubuntu*. In P. H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 626- 648). London: Routledge.
- Reese, S. D. (2016). The new geography of journalism research: Levels and spaces. *Digital Journalism*, 4(7), 816- 826. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2016.1152903.
- Reese, S. D. (1990). The news paradigm and the ideology of objectivity: A socialist at the Wall Street Journal. *Critical Studies in Murder Communication*, 7(4), 390-409.
- Reese, S. D. (2001). Understanding the global journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 173- 187.
- Rheingold, H. (2003). *Smart mobs: The next social revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus.
- Rich, T. S. & Recker, S. (2013). Understanding Sino-African relations: Neocolonialism or a new era? *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 20(1), 61- 76.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Robie, D. (2013). ‘Four worlds’ news values revisited: A deliberative journalism paradigm for pacific media. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 84- 110.

- Rodney-Gumede, Y. M. (2014). South African journalists' conceptualization of professionalism and deviations from normative liberal values. *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern African*, 33(2), 54- 69.
- Rodney, W. (1972). How Europe underdeveloped Africa. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.
- Rodrik, D., Subramanian, A., & Trebbi, F. (2004). Institutions rule: The primacy of institutions over geography and integration in economic development. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 9, 131-165.
- Rodrik, D., & Subramanian, A. (2003). The primacy of institutions: And what this does and does not mean. *Finance & Development*, 40(2), 31-35.
- Rogers, E. M. (1995). Diffusion of innovations (2nd ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Rogers, E. M., & Kincaid, D. L. (1981). Communication networks: Toward a new paradigm for research. New York: The Free Press.
- Rønning, H. (2005). African journalism and the struggle for democratic media. In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists* (pp. 157- 180). London: Routledge.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (1997). Assimilation and its discontents: Between rhetoric and reality. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 923- 960.
- Salawu, A. (2009). The growth and development of Africa media studies: Perspectives from Nigeria. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 1(1), pp. 81- 90.
- Satre, J. P. (2001 [1964]). Colonialism and neocolonialism (English Translation). London and New York: Routledge.

- Schiffrin, A. (2011). The limits to foreign funded journalism training in Africa. In B. Franklin & D. Mensing (Eds.), *Journalism Education, Training and Employment* (pp. 97- 111). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Schoeman, M. (2007). China in Africa: The rise of hegemony? *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 29(2), 74-97.
- Schudson, M. (2013). Fourteen or fifteen generations: News as a cultural form of Journalism as a historical formation, *American Journalism*, 30(1), 29- 35. doi: 10.1080/08821127.2013.76795
- Seale, C. (2004). *Researching society and culture*. London: Sage.
- Senghor, L. S. (1964). On African socialism. (M. Cook, Trans.). New York: Praeger.
- Serwornoo, P. M. Y. W. (2019). An examination of journalistic codes of ethics in Anglophone West Africa. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 34(1), 24- 40.
- Settles, J. D. (1996). The impact of colonialism on African economic development. *University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Projects*. https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/182.
- Sharkey, H. (2013). African colonial states. In J. Parker & R. Reid (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History* (pp. 151-170). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shirley, M. M. (2005). Institutions and development. In C. Menard and M. M. Shirley (Eds.), *Handbook of New Institutional Economics* (pp. 611-638). The Netherlands: Springer.
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (2014). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

- Shutte, A. (2001). Ubuntu: An ethic for a new South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications.
- Siebert, F.S., Peterson, T. & Schramm, W. (1956). Four theories of the press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Siegel, B. (1996). African family and kinship. In A. Gordon & D. L. Gordon (Eds.), *Understanding contemporary Africa* (pp. 221-247). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Singh, A. S. & Masuku, M. B. (2013). Fundamental of applied research and sampling techniques. *International Journal of Medical and Applied Sciences*, 2(4), 123-124.
- Skyerdal, T. S. (2011). Journalists or activists? Self-identity in the Ethiopian diaspora online community. *Journalism*, 12(6), 727- 744.
- Skjerdal, T.S. (2010). Research on brown envelope journalism in African media. *African Communication Research*, 3(3), 367-406.
- Skjerdal, T. S. (2001). Responsible watchdogs? Normative theories of the press in post-apartheid South Africa: A discourse analysis of 102 newspaper articles 1996-99. (Unpublished Master's thesis). University of Natal, Durban.
- Snelson, C. L. (2016). Qualitative and mixed methods social media research: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 15(1), 1-15.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*. 7(17), pp. 1- 7.
- Stevens, B. (2008). Corporate ethical codes: Effective instruments for influencing behavior. *Journal of Business Ethical*, 78, 601- 609.

- Strange, A., Parks, B., Tierney, A. A., & Dreher, A. (2015). Apples and dragon fruits: The determinants of aid and other forms of state financing from China to Africa. *AidData Working Paper*, 15.
- Suddaby, R. Viale, T. (2011). Professionals and field-level change: Institutional work and the professional project. *Current Sociology*, 59, 423- 441.
- Svensson, J. (2005). Eight questions about corruption. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19, pp. 19-42.
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Taylor, I. (2006). China in Africa: Engagement and Compromise. London: Routledge.
- Teddlie, C. & Tashakkori, A. (2003). Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behavioral sciences. In A Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook on mixed methods in the behavioral and social sciences* (pp. 3-50). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Teddlie, C. & Tashakkori, A. (2009). Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Teffo, L. A., & Roux, A. P. J. (2003). Introduction: Themes in African metaphysics. In P. H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux (Eds.), *The African Philosophy Reader* (2nd Ed.) (pp. 192- 208). New York: Routledge.
- Teske, R. H. C. & Nelson, B. H. (1974). Acculturation and assimilation: A clarification. *American Ethnologist*, 1(2), 351- 3677.

- The Editor (2018, 7 February). Xinhua news agency team visits The Guardian. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://t.guardian.ng/news/xinhua-news-agency-team-visits-the-guardian>.
- Thiong'o, N. W. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: Currey.
- Thomson, A. (2010). *An introduction to Africa politics*. London: Routledge.
- Thornton, J. K. (1988). *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomaselli, K. G. (2003). Our culture vs foreign culture: An essay on ontological and professional issues in Africa journalism. *International Communication Gazette*, 65 (6), pp. 427-441.
- Traber, M. (1989). African communication problems and prospects. *Africa Media Review*, 3(3), 89- 97.
- Traber, M. (1997). Conclusion: An ethics of communication worthy of human beings. In C. Christians & M. Traber (Eds.), *Communication Ethics and Universal Values* (pp. 327-343). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tumber, H., & Webster, F. (2005). *Journalists under fire: Information war and journalistic practices*. London: Sage.
- Tutu, D. (1999). *No future without forgiveness*. New York: Doubleday.
- Tuwe, K. (2015). The African oral tradition paradigm of storytelling as a methodological framework: Employment experiences for African communities in New Zealand. *Proceeding of the 38th African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) Conference: 21st century tension and transformation in Africa*. Deaking

- University, Australia, October 28-30, 2015. Retrieved from <https://afsaap.org.au/assets/kudakwashe-Tuwe-AFSAAP2015.pdf>.
- Uche L. U. (1991). Ideology, theory and professionalism in the African Mass Media. *African Media Review*, 5(1), 1-16.
- Ugboajah, F. (1985). Developing indigenous communication in Nigeria. *Journal of Communication*. 29(4), 40- 45.
- Umejei, E. (2015). China's engagement with Nigeria: Opportunity or opportunist? *African East-Asian Affairs*, 3&4, 54- 79.
- Van der Veur, P. S. (2002). Broadcasting and political reform. In G. Hyden, M. Leslie & F. Ogundimu (Eds.) *Media and democracy in Africa* (pp. 81-105). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Van Dijk, M. P. (2009). Competing trade policies with respect to Africa. In M. P. Van Dijk (Ed.), *The New Presence of China in Africa* (pp. 101- 113). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Vuving, A. L. (2009). How soft power works. Paper presented at the panel "Soft Power and Smart," *American Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Toronto: Canada, September 3.
- Wang, S. (2001). Diyi pi hei feizhou fenshe de jianli (Establishing the first Bureau in Sub-Saharan Africa).). In D. He (Ed.), *Lishi de Zuji—Xinhuashe 70 Zhounian Hui* (*Footprints of History- collection of Memories of the 70 Anniversary of Xinhua Agency, 1931- 2001* (pp. 620-627). Beijing: Xinhua Press.

- Wang, S.- T. (1988). The conference of Berlin and British 'New' Imperialism, 1884-85. *History Inquiry*, 22, 191-230.
- Wasserman, H. (2006). Globalised values and postcolonial response: South African perspectives on normative media ethics. *The International Communication Gazette*, 68, 71-91.
- Wasserman, H., & Madrid-Morales, D. (2018). How influential are Chinese media in Africa? An audience analysis in Kenya and South Africa. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 2212-2231.
- Wasserman, H. (2014). China's "soft power" and on editorial agendas in South Africa. *Paper Presented at China and Africa Media, Communications and Public Diplomacy*, Beijing, China. Retrieved from <https://www.cmi.no/file/2909-.pdf>.
- Wasserman, H. (2012). China in South Africa: Media responses to a developing relationship. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 5(3), 336-354.
- Wasserman, H. (2003). The possibilities of ICTs for social activism in Africa: Exploration. Paper presented at *Intellectuals, Nationalism and the Pan-African Ideal Conference*, Dakar, Senegal. December 8-11, 2003.
- Weaver, G. R. (1993). Corporate codes of ethics: Purpose, process and content issues. *Business & Society*, 32(1), 44- 58.
- Wekesa, B. (2013). Emerging trends and patterns in China-African media dynamics: A discussion from an East African perspective. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34 (3), 62-78.

- Welch, R. L. & Kunz, J. (2016). "Thy people shall be my people": Assimilation and diffusion among day missionaries. *American International Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(2), 45-50.
- Wesseling, H. L. (1996). *Divide and rule: The partition of Africa; 1880-1914*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Praeger.
- Whatley, W. (2014). The gun-slave cycle in the 18th century British slave trade. *MPRA Paper*, no. 58741.
- White, R. A. (2008). Ten major lines of research on grassroots, participatory communication in Africa. *African Communication Research*, 1, 11-45.
- White, R. A. (2008). The role of media in democratic governance in Africa. *African Communication Research*, 1(3), 269- 328.
- Wilcox, D. (1975). *Mass media in black Africa: Philosophy and control*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Wilensky, H. L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, 70, 137-158. Doi:10.1086/223790.
- Wilkins, L., & Brennen, B. (2004). Conflicted interests, contested terrain: Journalism ethics codes then and now. *Journalism Studies*, 5(3), 297- 309.
- Williams, E. (1944). *Capitalism and slavery*. New York: Capricorn Books.
- William, C. (1966). *The African*. London: Heiemann.
- Williamson, C. R. (2009). Informational institutions rule: Institutional arrangements and economic performance. *Public Choice*. 139, 371-387.

- Williamson, O. E. (2000). The new institutional economics: Taking stock, looking ahead. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 38(3), 595- 613.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Berkshire: McGraw-Hill.
- Wilson, D. (1987). Traditional systems of communication in modern African development: An analytical viewpoint. *African Media Review*, 1-2, 87-104.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Domminick, J. C. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction* (9th ed.). Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Wiredu, K. (2009). An oral philosophy of personhood: Comments on philosophy and orality. *Research in African Literatures*, 40(1), 8- 18.
- Wiredu, K. (1992). Moral foundations of an African culture. In K. Wiredu & K. Gyekye (Eds.), *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies* (pp. 192- 206). Washington DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.
- Wiredu, K. (2004). Introduction: African philosophy in our time. In k. Wiredu (Ed.), *A Companion to African Philosophy* (pp. 1- 28). Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Wiredu, K. (2008). Social philosophy in postcolonial Africa: Some preliminaries concerning communalism and communitarianism. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 27(4), 332- 339.
- Wu, Y. S. (2016). China's media and public diplomacy approach in Africa: Illustrations from South Africa. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 9(1), 81- 97.
- Wu, Y. S. (2014). China's media public diplomacy: Illustrations from South Africa. *Chr. Michelsen Institute*. Retrieved from <https://www.cmi.no/file/2921-.pdf>.

- Wu, Y. S. (2012). The rise of China's state-led media dynasty in Africa. *South African Institute of International Affairs*, Occasional paper no. 12. Retrieved from <http://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-paper/the-rise-of-chinas-state-led-media-dynasty-in-africa>.
- Xiang, Y. (2018). African students watching CCTV-Africa: A structural reception analysis of oppositional deciding. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 13(1), 123- 142.
- Yanovitzky, I., & Rimal, R. N. (2006). Communication and narrative influence: An introduction to the special issue. *Communication Theory*, 16, 1-6. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00002.x.
- Yanqui, Z. (2014, 11-12 September). Understand China's media in Africa: From the perspective of constructive journalism. Paper presented at the International conference on China and Africa Media, Communications and Public Diplomacy, Beijing.
- Yudico, A. V. (2017, 24 October). China's multi-billion dollar telecommunications investment in Africa poses threat to independent media.
- Zafar, A. (2007). The growing relationship between China and Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic, trade, investment, and aid links. *The World Bank Research Observer*. Advance Access.
- Zaghlami, L. (2016). Colonial media and post-independence experience in North Africa. *Media and Journalism*, 16(29), 159- 168.
- Zakaria, F. (2008). *The post-American World*. New York: W.W. Norton.

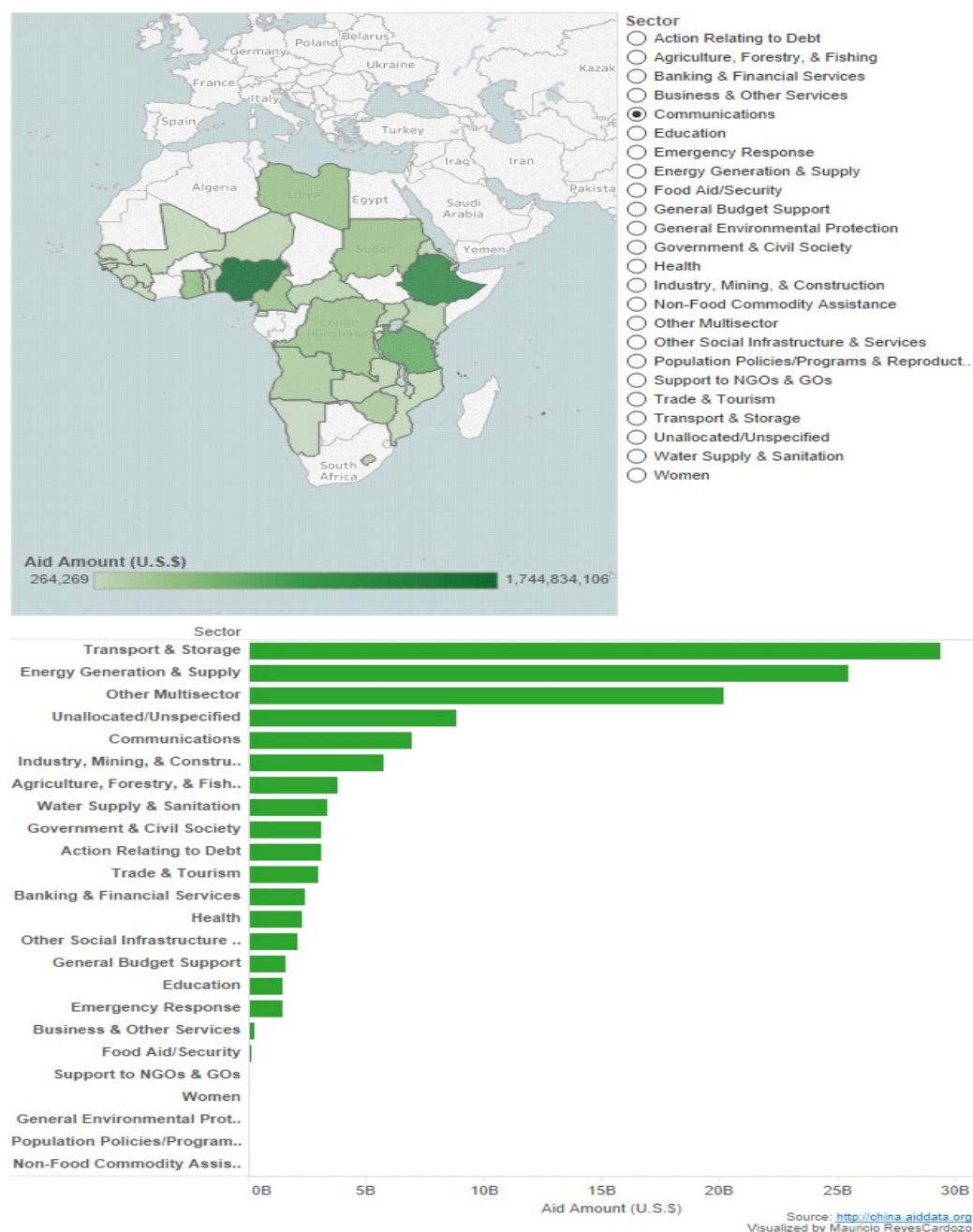
- Zapf, A., Castell, S., Morawietz, L., & Karch, A. (2016). Measuring inter-rater reliability for nominal data- which coefficients and confidence intervals are appropriate. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 16(93), 1- 10. doi: 10.1186/s12874-016-0200-9.
- Zhang, Y. & Matingwina, S. (2016). A new representation of Africa? The use of constructive journalism in the narrative of Ebola by China Daily and the BBC. *African Journalism Studies*, 37(3), 19-40. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2016.1209224.
- Zhao, Y. (2012). Understanding China's media system in a World historical context: Comparing media systems beyond the Western World. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western World* (pp. 143- 177). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zhe, R. (2010). Confucius institutes: China's soft power? Policy Commentary of Sigur Center for Asian Studies at the George Washington University.
- Zhe, R. (2012). The Confucius institutes and China's soft power. *IDE Discussion Paper*, 330. <https://hdl.handle.net/2344/1119>.
- Zheng, L. (2010). Neo-colonialism, ideology, or just business? China's perception of Africa. *Global Media and Communication*, 6(3), 271-276.
- Ziegler, D. & Asante, M.K. (1992). *Thunder and silence: The mass media in Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Zweig, D., & Bi, J. (2005). China's global hunt for energy. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(5), 24- 38.

APPENDIX

Appendix : 1 Map of Africa showing sub-Saharan Africa (countries below the grey area).
 (Source: <https://www.librarything.com/topic/183039>)



Appendix 2: Communication sector ranks 5th in Chinese investment in Africa. (2000-2013)



Yudico, V. A. (2017, October 24). *Center for International Media Assistance*. Retrieve from <http://www.cima.ned.org/blog/chinas-multi-billion-dollar-telecommunication-investment-africa-poses-threat-independent-media>

Appendix 3: Codebook

Instructions:

Read the entire codebook twice before beginning to code. Similarly, read any of the codes of ethics over and over again before coding.

The codebook developed is for quantitative content analysis on the codes of ethics of 48 Sub-Saharan African countries. The codes of ethics are chosen because they lay out the common functions of accountability to the public and sources, as well as self-regulatory mechanism to protect the professional integrity of journalists. The codes of ethics are important because they are the blueprint of professional conduct.

The process will be descriptive because it will provide insights into the manifest content of the codes of ethics. The coding units will be **words** and **phrases** within the **preambles** or **explanatory notes**, **articles** also known as **duties/rights** of journalists and **chapters** in the codes of ethics. Through this process categories that are relevant and valid will be established.

Introductory note to the code

The numbers on the left stand for the number of the variable. For example no. 1 is variable 1 in the code. **Please code 1 if the variables are present and code zero (0) if the variables are not present.**

1) Code number

Codes were arranged in an alphabetical order of the country name) for A= is no. 1

2) Age of code or year the code was adopted

2019 subtracted from the year the code was created. For example 2019 (present year) minus 1971 (the year the code was adopted) = 44.

3) Primary colonial power. The literature noted that France and Britain were the major colonial powers in Africa but other European countries were involved **(the country that colonized a particular African country represented by the following**

- 1) France
- 2) Britain
- 3) Portugal
- 4) Belgium
- 5) Netherland
- 6) Other
- 7) Can't tell

4) By who is the code adopted

- 1) Journalists
- 2) NGOs
- 3) Government of the country
- 4) Other
- 5) Can't tell

General note on the code.

Functions of the code

The codes are formulated for the need to show accountability as a direct consequence of duties of journalists in societies: their role as informers of the public and watchdogs over the ruling power.

Instructions: Code the preamble also known as explanatory note, and articles which includes duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes.

Please code only the preamble also known as explanatory note for functions of codes.

5) Accountability to the public:

5a) Truthfulness of information: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Honesty

Verification

Reliance on facts

Accuracy

Reporting without bias

Truth

Correctly

Objective manner

5b) Defense of public rights: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Comprehensive forum for exchange

Debate

Independence

Watchdog

Duty/mission to inform the public

Public right of access to information

5c) Responsibilities as creators of public opinions: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Abstaining from publication in cases of doubt

Educating the public on matters of concern

Putting issues of public or national interest ahead of others

Inclusivity

Diversity

Avoid inciting racial/ethnic hatred

6) Accountability to the sources and referents:

6a) Gathering of information: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Avoid undercover or surreptitious methods

Protection of minors

Respect of privacy

Public interest is the only justification for information about private lives of persons.

No distortion of information.

6b) Presentation of information: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Balance a suspect's right to fair trial

Avoid presenting/publishing violence and obscenity

Willingness to correct errors

Right to reply to questions on published works

Avoid description and presentation that are vividly shocking or sensational terms

Not giving explicit details of crimes or sexual matters.

Cultural differences should be considered in presentation

Obligation to separate news from views

Separating news from advertising.

Avoiding sensational headlines.

6c) Outcomes/ Effects of information: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Show compassion/sympathy for those affected by news coverage

Preserve the anonymity for sources that may face danger or other form of harm

Explain why anonymity is granted to sources.

7) Accountability to the state:

7a) Respect for state institutions: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Not to harm national security

Endanger national interest

Compromise of the safety of the nation.

8) Accountability to the employers:

8a) Loyalty to the employer: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

Render faithful service to the employer

To act in good faith

Not to compete with the employer

To advance the employer's interest

To be committed to the company's success.

8b) Respect to the organization: Coders will review preamble for these words or phrases.

To promote teamwork

Increase productivity and efficiencies in the organization.

Please code the articles also known as duties/rights and chapters for functions of codes.

9) Accountability to the public:

9a) Truthfulness of information: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Honesty

Verification

Reliance on facts

Accuracy

Reporting without bias

Truth

Correctly

Objective manner

9b) Defense of public rights: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Comprehensive forum for exchange

Debate

Independence

Watchdog

Duty/mission to inform the public

Public right of access to information

9c) Responsibilities as creators of public opinions: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Educating the public on matters of concern

Putting issues of public or national interest ahead of others

Inclusivity

Diversity

Avoid inciting racial/ethnic hatred

10) Accountability to the sources and referents:

10a) Gathering of information: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Avoid undercover or surreptitious methods

Protection of minors

Respect of privacy.

Public interest is the only justification for information about private lives of persons.

No distortion of information

Preserving anonymity of sources.

10b) Presentation of information: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Balance a suspect's right to fair trial

Avoid presenting/publishing violence and obscenity

Willingness to correct errors

Right to reply to questions on published works

Avoid description and presentation that are vividly shocking or sensational terms

Not giving explicit details of crimes or sexual matters.

Cultural differences should be considered in presentation

Obligation to separate news from views

Separating news from advertising.

Avoiding sensational headlines

10c) Outcomes/ effects of information: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Show compassion/sympathy for those affected by news coverage

Preserve the anonymity for sources that may face danger or other form of harm

Explain why anonymity is granted to sources.

11) Accountability to the state:

11a) Respect for state institutions: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Not jeopardize national security

Endanger national interest

Compromise of the safety of the nation

12) Accountability to the employers:

12a) Loyalty to the employer: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

Render faithful service to the employer

To act in good faith

Not to compete with the employer

To advance the employer's interest

To be committed to the company's success

12b) Respect to the organization: Coders will review articles for these words or phrases.

To promote teamwork

Increase productivity and efficiencies in the organization.

Self-regulation mechanisms in the codes.

Instructions: Code both the articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes. Please, code 1 if the variables are present and code zero (0) if the variables are not present.

13a) Language on how infractions should be addressed: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrase.

To accept to be judged by peers

To accept decisions made, after examination of the case.

13b) Language identifying accountability/punishment of infractions: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

To be disciplined for any violation of the codes.

Refusal of any money or payments in exchange for services rendered

Acceptance of editorial instructions only from managers

Desist from plagiarism, slander, libel, insult or unfounded accusation

Not yielding to pressure.

13c) Training for journalists learn/develop independence professional values: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Investing effort in research and investigation.

Constantly improving talents and professional practice

Enriching their professional or social culture

Take part in programs of continuous education

13d) Journalists freedoms: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Free of all outside control

Refusal to read or write contrary to ethical rules of profession.

Refusal to obey

Specific news values

Instructions: Code both the articles also known as duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes to look for specific values of the different media paradigms. Please, code 1 (one) if the variables are present, and code zero (0) if the variables are not present.

14) Western news values followed by the variable: The key to this value is that the core value of news is the interest of the individual. Look for words, phrases and sentences that express the manifest content on individual.

WNV1. Individual: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Individuals have the right to know

Access to information in the society

Individual right to privacy

Rights of minors

Not publishing scenes of violence, gruesome or obscene pictures.

The right to reply and of retort guaranteed to individuals and organization

Personal contracts that insures material/moral security

No conflicts of interests

Economic independence- not accepting gifts or special payments (brown envelope)

WNV2. Truth: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Honesty

Verification

Reliance on facts

Accuracy

Unbiased

Truth

Correctly

Objective manner

WNV3. Diversity: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Voice of the voiceless

Promotion of inclusivity (male, female and all other groups)

Avoiding all Stereotypes

Being sensitive to cultural sentiments and views

WNV4. Freedom from government: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Refusal to censor articles

Access to all sources of information

Conscience clause

Independence from government and other institutional influences (business, religion, special interests)

15) Chinese development news values: The key to this value is that the core value of news is the interest of the state.

CDNV1. State: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases

The right of the state to censor/control access to information

The right of the state to pose threat to journalists

The right of the state to take precedence over other (non-governmental or party interests)

Knowing the country's press legislation

CDNV2. Nation-building: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases

National development – publishing news relating to the entire society's policies and goals determined by the state.

The press promotes positive achievements of society

Beneficial social change- the press highlights social changes that benefit the society.

CDNV3. Conformity: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases

Respect for the authority

Promotion of news for the interest of those in power

Consensus valued- the press seeks to promote agreement between the people and the policies of the state.

No attention is given to dissidents views

CDNV4. Media used for public diplomacy: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases

Media as *prototype* are deployed for political and economic strategies of developing society.

Media as *partner* are deployed to promote government investment.

Media as *persuader* are deployed to shape opinions to support government image abroad.

16) African news values: The key to this value is that the core value of news is the interest of the community.

ANV1: Community: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Good of the community – promotion of common attitudes, interests and goals of the people

ANV2: Solidarity: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Professional solidarity- expressing support for each other.

Collective agreement – seeking the good of all members.

Not applying for job of another journalist

Not to cause the firing of others by offering less for the work

ANV3: Harmony: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Not inciting racial, ethnic hatred.

Advancing peaceful co-existence in the society.

Avoiding all forms of discrimination – not treating people unjustly based on some characteristics.

Obligation of consultation- the right to consult and be consulted by the organization

Wages in harmony with social role –being paid in tandem with their function in the society.

Settling accounts with colleagues – seeking reconciliation among fighting colleagues

ANV4: Freedom for community: Coders will review articles which include duties/rights of journalists and chapters in the codes for these words and phrases.

Promotion of welfare- to seek the wellbeing of all in the society

Counter oppression- to fight against the oppression of groups or people by the community

Molding behavior – to educate people on their cultural values

Appendix 4: Questionnaire Protocol

Introduction:

My name is Emmanuel-Lugard Nduka, a Ph. D candidate of the Gaylord School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Oklahoma. I am currently conducting a research into the impacts of colonial and neocolonial influences on media norms of Sub-Saharan Africa. The main purpose of my study is to examine influences impacting Sub-Saharan African media norms and its effects on professionalization of journalism. The first phase of this research project was a content analysis on 48 journalistic codes of ethics of the 48 countries that are in the Sub-Saharan African region. The second phase of the research is the in-depth interview. And the goal of the interview is to explore the impact of these influences through the members of the board of directors of the primary professional journalism association in each of the countries of Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa.

Background information of Interviewee

- 1) Could you please tell me something brief about yourself and background? (Name will be withheld)
- 2) For how long have you been a member of the board of directors of the association?
- 3) What position do you currently hold and how long have you held this role?
- 4) What are the function(s) of your role on the board?

The interviews will cover various questions to elicit responses and understanding of the practical experiences of the board members in their communication programs and activities that borders on the topic of the research. Interview will take 1 hour and 20 minutes, but should you feel

uncomfortable with divulging any information, you may ask the interview to be paused or request that direction be changed. One is also free to opt out at any stage of the interview.

With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded or notes taken. It is important for you to know that all responses will be kept private and confidential. The interview will be made available to you to check and make sure that your views were really presented.

Media ethics addresses issues at two levels –micro and macro levels. Micro level considers what individual journalist should do in specific situations. While the macro level considers what the news media should do given their role in society. With this in mind, the following questions will be asked:

- 1) What values are shaping the African journalism today in your experience as a journalist?
Could you please explain more on this?
- 2) Why do these values shape African journalism in your opinion and not others?
- 3) What is the importance of freedom from government in your work as a journalist in your country?
 - 3b) How do the qualities of the individual such as liberty, freedom of speech and other rights of the individual play out in relation to your work as a journalist?
 - 3c) what is the importance of truth in your work as a journalist?
 - 3d) Do you consider having different voices and opinion (diversity) as an important value in your work as a journalist? And why?
- 4) Should the government control the media to advance national development? And why?
 - 4b) How do the interests of government play a role in your work as a journalist?

- 4c) Do you consider the task of supporting government as part of your role as a journalist?
- 4d) What is the importance of conformity to the authority of the government to your work as journalist?
- 5) What is the importance of community control for the purpose of contributing to the welfare of people in your work as a journalist? And why?
- 5b) How does the community interest play a role in your work as a journalist?
- 5c) Do you consider solidarity in terms of forging social cohesion, togetherness and support to the community as part of your role as a journalist?
- 6) There is an overlap in the African values of community, harmony and solidarity with the Chinese values of state interests, nation building and conformity. How would you differentiate these values from the African perspectives and the Chinese perspectives?
- 7) Do you see Western values of individual, truth, diversity and freedom from government, and the Chinese values of government interest, nation building, conformity and freedom for government as well as the African values of community, harmony, solidarity and freedom for community as having normative influence in your day-to-day experience as a journalist in your country? And how? Could you please explain also the why to your answer?
- 8) Some countries use media as tool for diplomacy, do you see this in the way Chinese media work in Africa? And why?

- 9) To what extent do you see the Chinese media in Africa as a model (prototype) for what African media should be?
 - 9b) To what extent do you see the Chinese media in Africa as a persuader platform to influence positive perception of China in Africa?
 - 9c) To what extent do you see the Chinese media in Africa as a collaborative effort with the African media?
- 10) To whom do you think journalists are accountable to in their work? And why?
- 11) Accountability to sources is apparent in the codes of ethics. How does this element shape the work of journalists in your experience? Could you please explain further with an example?
- 12) Duties and rights of journalists in the codes forbid journalists from certain behaviors. How are these measures applied in the case of ethical infractions? Are they effective enough so as to discourage unethical behaviors? How are they enforced? And are they not enforced?
- 13) How does training of journalists shape the professional development of the trade in your experience as a journalist? Are there provisions for further training in your experience?
- 14) What kind of regulation would best suit the advancement of journalism in your opinion?
- 15) How might the daily practice of African journalism become more aligned with the values in the codes of ethics?
- 16) What hurdles exist to achieving this professionalism? And what elements could be instrumental in the achievement of this process of professionalization?

- 17) Is there anything you would like to add about the influence of African, Chinese and Western values on daily practices in African journalism?